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Dr. Johnson and the Religious Problem

In 1849 one Robert Armitage published a book entitled *Dr Johnson's Religious Life*. The title of this curious book is very misleading. For its aim was not so much to describe Johnson's religion as to lend weight to the author's own views by calling Johnson as witness to their truth. An examination of Johnson's religion for its own sake will, I trust, be more fruitful. I propose, therefore, in the present essay to study his opinions upon certain of the broader aspects of the religious problem, with special emphasis upon rationalism and the supernatural. Such a study should tend to quicken our perceptions of Johnson's historical significance as we find him leaning now forward toward the new rationalism and now backward toward the older Christian tradition; thus reflecting that vital contradiction between these sets of ideas which dominated the intellectual life of the eighteenth century.

I

Johnson was baptized on the day of his birth, 18 September 1709, in his father's house overlooking Market Square in Lichfield. The ceremony was performed by the Rev. William Baker, pastor of St. Mary's where the baptism was registered. His godfathers were Dr Samuel Swynfen, who at that time had lodgings in the Johnson house, and Richard Wakefield, a lawyer who was Coroner and Town Clerk of Lichfield.¹ The boy's instruction in matters religious, in the Christian view of life and death, actually began at a very early age. In middle life he recalled to Boswell² that he had learned of Heaven and Hell at the age of three. His full account of the event is preserved in the *Annals*:

I suppose that in this year (1712) I was first informed of a future state. I remember, that being in bed with my mother one morning, I was told by her of the two places to which the inhabitants of this world were received after death; one a fine place filled with happiness, called Heaven; the other a *sad* place, called Hell. That this account much affected my imagination, I do not remember. When I was risen, my mother bade me repeat what she had told me to Thomas Jackson. When I told this afterwards to my mother, she seemed to wonder that she should begin such talk so late that the first time could be remembered.³

Johnson may not have remembered whether his mother's account 'much affected his imagination', but the conception of Hell, which he first derived from her, stayed with him all his life and was profoundly affecting to him. Seventy-two years after this episode, when Dr Adams asked him, 'What do you mean by damned?' he replied (passionately and loudly) 'Sent to Hell, Sir, and punished everlastingly.'⁴ Boswell is contemptuous⁵ of the

¹ A. Reade, *Johnsonian Gleanings*, III, 51 ff. Johnson's baptism is registered as of 7 September, i.e. old style.

² *Life*, I, 38.

³ *Miscellanies*, I, 135.

⁴ *Life*, IV, 299.

⁵ *Life*, I, 68 n3.

account of Johnson's religious awakening given by Mrs Piozzi. According to her, when Johnson was ten he 'was disturbed by scruples of infidelity' and proceeded to search for proofs of revelation. He recollected 'a book he had once seen in his father's shop, intitled, *de Veritate Religionis, &c.*' and studied his Latin diligently in order to be able to read it. The pain of his infidelity caused him to 'deduce the soul's immortality,' and from that moment he was a Christian.⁶ As he prints Mrs Piozzi's story, Boswell inserts in brackets his own ironical comments, e.g. with respect to deducing the soul's immortality: '*a sensation of pain in this world being an unquestionable proof of existence in another.*'⁷ Boswell, of course, produces his more famous version in the form of a quotation solicited from Johnson himself. This, which I shall quote presently, begins with his ninth year. It is important, however, to remember that his earliest religious training was received from his mother, whose piety and devotion distinguished her throughout Lichfield. As Boswell says, 'to her must be ascribed those early impressions of religion upon the mind of her son, from which the world afterwards derived so much benefit.'⁸

Here is Johnson's own account of his religious progress, as he gave it to Boswell in 1763 or later:

'I fell into an inattention to religion, or an indifference about it, in my ninth year. The Church at Lichfield, in which we had a seat, wanted reparation, so I was to go and find a seat in other churches; and having bad eyes and being awkward about this I used to go and read in the fields on Sunday. This habit continued till my fourteenth year; and still I find a great reluctance to go to church. I then became a sort of *lax talker* against religion, for I did not much *think* against it; and this lasted till I went to Oxford, where it would not be suffered. When at Oxford, I took up "*Law's Serious Call to a Holy Life*," expecting to find it a dull book, (as such books generally are,) and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found Law quite an overmatch for me; and this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion, after I became capable of rational inquiry.'⁹

The chief thing to remark in this passage is the importance Johnson ascribes to William Law's *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*. The book was first published in 1728, the year he went to Oxford, so that he must have read it soon after it made its appearance. It is interesting that a book so 'enthusiastic' in spirit should have been instantly successful at a time when enthusiasm was most scorned. It will be remembered that it was published when Clarke, Bolingbroke, and Shaftesbury were the reigning English thinkers, when Swift and Pope were the leading men of letters, and actually in the same year as the *Dunciad*. It was not among the books Johnson owned at Oxford, at least so far as we can judge from the catalogue added to his letter to Repington.¹⁰ So it would seem, as Reade says, that he was content with a borrowed copy. The profound effect of the book upon his religious imagination was not for his Oxford days only, but for his whole life. On 11 July 1752 he wrote to Andrew Millar¹¹ to send him a copy of the *Serious Call*. Four years later, in a tender letter to his friend Miss Boothby, who was then dying, he wrote, 'I have returned

⁶ *Miscellanies*, I, 157-158.

⁷ *Life*, I, 69 n.

⁸ *Life*, I, 38.

⁹ *Life*, I, 68.

¹⁰ *Johnsonian Gleanings*, V, 29.

¹¹ *Letters*, I, 31.

your *Law*, which however I earnestly entreat you to give me.' ¹² According to the Rev. Dr. Maxwell, who communicated to Boswell some conversations of Johnson's in 1770,

'He much commended "*Law's Serious Call*," which he said was the finest piece of hortatory theology in any language. "*Law*, (said he,) fell latterly into the reveries of Jacob Behmen, whom *Law* alleged to have been somewhat in the same state with St. Paul and to have seen *unutterable things*. Were it even so, (said Johnson,) Jacob would have resembled St. Paul still more, by not attempting to utter them.'" ¹³

The word 'hortatory' is especially important in Johnson's judgment here, because it parallels a remark he made to Henderson in 1784: 'William Law, Sir, wrote the best piece of Parenetick Divinity; but William Law was no reasoner.' ¹⁴ Macaulay and others have objected to Johnson's calling Law 'no reasoner.' Macaulay, in fact, maintained that 'In mere dialectical skill he had very few superiors.' ¹⁵ There is a misunderstanding here, rather than a contradiction. By a 'reasoner' in matters of theology Johnson understood something quite definite: a man who built his theology, up to the point of revelation at least, upon rational demonstration of the metaphysical type which the eighteenth century called 'natural religion.' Dr Samuel Clarke, as we shall see, is an excellent example of this sort of reasoner. Law's book is in no sense an apologetic or a metaphysic of religion. Even a superficial comparison between it and Clarke's discourses on natural religion will make it clear that Johnson was quite right, while at the same time there is no doubt that Law was able to draw a valid conclusion from a set of premises. It was as exhortation and entreaty, then, rather than logical demonstration that the *Serious Call* appealed to Johnson. But how did it happen to succeed in awakening him where we cannot doubt that other books failed? He says that such books generally are dull. How then was Law an 'overmatch' for him?

This problem is more easily posed than solved, for I think it safe to assert that a consensus of competent opinion of the present time would find Law's *Serious Call* a dull book. The reason for this, however, is probably to be found in the great differences of intellectual climate between the 1730's and the 1930's. Certainly in the eighteenth century it was not thought a dull book, if one can judge by the number of editions published. ¹⁶ It was of Johnson's age and therefore problems of historical adjustment did not arise for him. But the book was not typical for him. It was unique. That is to say, certain things more or less peculiar to the book appealed to him immediately. These were, I think, chiefly two, which are closely related. The primary appeal of Law's book is to the individual conscience and imagination. Law is not preaching against major sins which can be treated objectively and dramatically, as for example in much of Bunyan, but rather he is seeking to penetrate the shell of the average, the conventionally, religious person. His thesis is that a man is more likely to be under the illusion that if he commits no sins, attends church on the Sunday, and gives

¹² *Ibid.*, 52.

¹³ *Life*, II, 122-123.

¹⁴ *Life*, IV, 286, n3.

¹⁵ *History of England*, V, 81, note. (ed. 1874).

¹⁶ There were 11 editions by 1784, the year of Johnson's death.

a crown to charity now and then, nothing more is required of him as a Christian :

More people are kept from a true sense and taste of religion, by a *regular* kind of sensuality and indulgence, than by *gross drunkenness*. More men live regardless of the great duties of piety, through too *great a concern* for worldly goods, than through *direct injustice*.

This man would perhaps be devout, if he was not so great a *Virtuoso*. Another is deaf to all the motives of piety, by indulging an *idle, slothful* temper.

Could you cure This man of his great *curiosity* and *inquisitive* temper, or That of his *false* satisfaction and *thirst* after *learning*, you need do no more to make them both become men of great piety.¹⁷

There is much in a passage of this kind which must have pricked the conscience of the nineteen year old student whose thirst for knowledge was already unquenchable.

The chapter on education, one of the best in the book, must have had a special interest for Johnson :

Great part of the world are undone, by being born and bred in families that have no Religion; where they are made vicious and irregular, by being like those with whom they first lived.

But this is not the thing I now mean; the education that I here intend, is such as children generally receive from virtuous and sober *parents*, and learned *tutors* and governors.¹⁸

If children are intended for *holy orders*, we set before them some eminent *orator*, whose *fine* preaching has made him the *admiration* of the age, and carried him through all the *dignities* and *preferments* of the Church.

If the youth is intended for a *trade*, we bid him look at all the rich men of the *same trade*, and consider how many now are carried about in their *stately coaches*, who began in the same low degree as he now does.

If he is to be a lawyer, then we set great *Counsellors*, *Lords*, *Judges*, and *Chancellors*, before his eyes. We tell him what *great fees*, and great *applause*, attend fine pleading.¹⁹

To such unconsciously misleading and impious training Law opposes this ideal :

All ... that *great saints*, and *dying* men, when the fullest of light and conviction, and after the highest improvement of their reason, all that they have said of the necessity of *piety*, of the excellency of *virtue*, of their *duty* to God, of the emptiness of *riches*, of the vanity of the *world*; all the *sentences*, *judgments*, *reasonings*, and maxims of the wisest of philosophers, when in their highest state of wisdom, should constitute the *common lessons* of instruction for youthful minds.

An education which is not *wholly* intent upon this, is as much beside the point, as an art of *Physick* that had little or no regard to the restoration of health.²⁰

Law is appealing to his reader to search under good-appearing surfaces and make certain that evil does not lurk there. His appeal to Johnson was certainly successful. For, as any reader of Boswell knows, these ideas and others like them became part of his very soul. They characterize

¹⁷ *Serious Call*, ed. 1729, 101-102.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 326.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 330.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 327.

hundreds of his moral judgments and one feels their presence all through the *Prayers and Meditations*.

It is in the *Prayers and Meditations*, too, that we find constantly reflected the other great impression he received from Law. This was Law's emphasis upon devotion, not merely the formal appearance at Church on Sunday and reception of the Communion three times a year, but daily prayer and meditation in order to keep the soul constantly aware of its obligation to serve God always. The essential thing to remember is the twofold appeal of Law to his conscience and his religious imagination which touched Johnson in his twentieth year and moved him so deeply that even in his old age he could place Law above all others for persuasiveness in religion. The great influence of William Law upon eighteenth century religious thought and practice was upon the Methodist movement which was opposed to the main current and was evangelical rather than rationalistic. The reasons for this will be plain enough if we keep Law's ideas in mind a little later when we consider Samuel Clarke. John Wesley himself spread the teaching of Law whom he read at about the same time as Johnson did. He says of the *Serious Call* that when he met with it, 'the light flowed in so mightily upon my soul, that every thing appeared in a new view.'²¹ Whitefield read it before he went to the University and says: 'God worked powerfully upon my soul ... by that and his other excellent treatise upon *Christian Perfection*.'²²

Johnson was at Oxford 'even during vacations', according to Croker, until 12 December 1729.²³ The first entry preserved in the *Prayers and Meditations* bears the date October, 1729. It is his resolve to put away sloth: 'Desidiaē valedixi; syrenis istius cantibus surdam posthac aurem obversurus.'²⁴ It may have been the first response of Johnson to the 'serious call.' The next entry is '1729, Dec. S. J. Oxonio rediit.'²⁵ Thus in the fourteen months of his residence at 'the university he read Law, began his life-long devotion to religion, and began the private memorandum book in which he wrote down the prayers he composed and occasionally made note of some event relative to his inner religious life.

This is not, of course, the record of a conversion, as of a man who had been an atheist; but it is the story of a man rather suddenly aroused out of apathy into active interest in religious matters and an unceasing devotion to a religious ideal, mainly under the stimulus of a single book. In the years that followed he turned more frequently to other books, to Erasmus or Dr Clarke, when he needed support for his faith or comfort in times of spiritual distress. But Law's *Serious Call* remains primary and his greatest debt, as he confesses, was to it.

The first entry in the *Prayers and Meditations*, quoted above, is a moral resolution. But when placed beside Johnson's account of his religious progress it certainly takes on religious significance, as springing from an experience which had intensified and sharpened his conscience. His first prayer that is preserved occurs in the entry for 7 September 1736 (old style):

²¹ Wesley's *Journal*, ed. F. W. MacDonald, I, 467.

²² Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, I, 16.

²³ *Life*, I, 78 n2.

²⁴ *Miscellanies*, I, 5.

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

I have this day entered upon my 28th year. Mayst thou, O God, enable me for Jesus Christ's sake to spend this in such a manner that I may receive comfort from it at the hour of death and in the day of judgment. Amen.²⁶

In this same entry Johnson begins his long series of resolves to observe 'the rules I have at any time laid down.' And this again reflects the influence of Law. I believe it is safe to say that from this time Johnson's religion was, on the surface at least, a settled thing.

As the years go by the prayers are more frequent in his notebook, and become more and more profound and earnest in their appeal to God to help him mend what he seriously felt was the failure of his life. His expressed scruples were no longer doubts of the truth of the Christian Revelation, but doubts whether he would be saved.

It is the doubt of Baxter and many another devout believer. Interestingly enough Johnson associated his scruple with Baxter, in whose autobiography the hope of salvation and the dread of not attaining it because of weak faith run in a constant undertone. On 29 March 1766 Johnson noted, 'I had this day a doubt, like Baxter, of my state, and found that my faith, though weak, was yet faith.'²⁷ The following day he wrote again, 'Troubled with Baxter's scruple, which was quieted as I returned home.'²⁸

II

This scruple quite naturally raises the old question of Johnson's fear of death — an experience, some critics apparently need to be reminded, which was not peculiar to him. What was peculiar to him was his lack of any fear in confessing to the world that death was an awful thing for him to contemplate. How much this fear unconsciously led Johnson into religion, how much it was a result of his religion, is a perplexing problem. It bears closely upon the central problem of the nature of the religious emotion itself, which is well beyond our province. The only answer we can give here is a purely historical one, which is that the written evidence shows that Johnson's preoccupation with death was life-long. He often said that he never had a moment in which death was not terrible to him.²⁹

Johnson discusses the fear of death most fully in connection with David Hume. And here we meet a central point in his defense of the Christian tradition against sceptical attack. Boswell, whose curiosity about Johnson's fear of death was insatiable, delighted in raising the question of Hume's theory of annihilation. The occasion on which they discussed the matter was 26 October 1769:

I told him that David Hume said to me, he was no more uneasy to think he should *not be* after this life, than that he *had not been* before he began to exist. JOHNSON. Sir, if he really thinks so, his perceptions are disturbed; he is mad: if he does not think so, he lies. He may tell you, he holds his finger in the flame

²⁶ *Miscellanies*, I, 7.

²⁷ *Miscellanies*, I, 39.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁹ Johnson owned a copy of Sherlock's *A Practical Discourse Concerning Death* while at Oxford. He never refers to it, however, and it is so general in character that I can find no specific trace of its influence upon him.

of a candle, without feeling pain; would you believe him? When he dies, he at least gives up all he has.' ³⁰

In this passage, obviously, Johnson is not so much trying to refute Hume as to make his position seem absurd to the dazzled Boswell. On another occasion, 16 September 1777, he attempted to explain it as false, but yet consistent with Hume's general philosophical view:

I mentioned to Dr Johnson that David Hume's persisting in his infidelity, when he was dying, shocked me much. JOHNSON. 'Why should it shock you, Sir? Hume owned he had never read the New Testament with attention. Here then was a man, who had been at no pains to inquire into the truth of religion, and had continually turned his mind the other way. It was not to be expected that the prospect of death would alter his way of thinking, unless God should send an angel to set him right.'

Boswell, recalling his last conversation with Hume, told Johnson that Hume had no fear of annihilation, and received a crushing reply:

JOHNSON. 'It was not so, Sir. He had a vanity in being thought easy. It is more probable that he should assume an appearance of ease, than that so very improbable a thing should be, as a man not afraid of going (as, in spite of his delusive theory, he cannot be sure but he may go,) into an unknown state, and not being uneasy at leaving all he knew. And you are to consider, that upon his own principle of annihilation he had no motive to speak truth'. The horror of death which I had always observed in Dr. Johnson, appeared strong tonight. I ventured to tell him, that I had been, for moments in my life, not afraid of death; therefore I could suppose another man in that state of mind for a considerable space of time. He said, 'he never had a moment in which death was not terrible to him.' He added, that it had been observed, that scarce any man dies in public, but with apparent resolution; from that desire of praise which never quits us.' ³¹

Boswell's opinion was that Johnson's fear of death 'was from reflection; his courage natural.' 'His fear, (he goes on) in that one instance, was the result of philosophical and religious consideration. He feared death, but he feared nothing else, not even what might occasion death.' ³² By 'religious consideration' Boswell no doubt means Johnson's scruple of salvation, his fear of facing judgment. He quotes Mrs Thrale in a passage in which Johnson spoke movingly of this question:

'You know, (says he,) I never thought confidence with respect to futurity any part of the character of a brave, a wise, or a good man. Bravery has no place where it can avail nothing; wisdom impresses strongly the consciousness of those faults, of which it is, perhaps, itself an aggravation; and goodness, always wishing to be better, and imputing every deficiency to criminal negligence, and every fault to voluntary corruption, never dares to suppose the condition of forgiveness fulfilled, nor what is wanting in the crime supplied by penitence.'

'This is the state of the best; but what must be the condition of him whose heart will not suffer him to rank himself among the best, or among the good? Such must be his dread of the approaching trial, as will leave him little attention to the opinion of those whom he is leaving forever; and the serenity that is not felt, it can be no virtue to feign.' ³³

³⁰ *Life*, II, 106. For the account of Boswell's last meeting with Hume, at which time he talked over these matters of religion, death, and immortality, see *Private Papers of James Boswell*, XII, 227-232. See also Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, ed. Kemp Smith, 97-100.

³¹ *Life*, III, 153-154.

³² *Life*, I, 298.

³³ *Life*, IV, 395.

This is a general statement. But of course it is also personal in so far as Johnson's heart would 'not suffer him to rank himself among the best, or among the good.' The terror of the final judgment was surely a very real thing for him. But it is not the whole of his fear of death. Two other elements are to be found in his experience and their importance cannot be neglected.

One of these elements of Johnson's experience is his dread of solitude. There can be no doubt that this was also a very real part of his fear of death. Consider, for example, this passage which illustrates how deeply Johnson pondered the thought of the aloneness of man at his death:

Yet such is the course of nature, that whoever lives long must outlive those whom he loves and honours. Such is the condition of our present existence, that life must one time lose its associations, and every inhabitant of the earth must walk downward to the grave alone and unregarded, without any partner of his joy or grief, without any interested witness of his misfortunes or success.

Misfortune, indeed, he may yet feel; for where is the bottom of the misery of man? But what is success to him that has none to enjoy it? Happiness is not found in self-contemplation; it is perceived only when it is reflected from another.³⁴

Here we seem to see the naked soul of the man; to hear the voice of his innermost being. But the passage occurs in a formal essay in which he is making a particular point. He does not refer to the religious significance of death, which he nevertheless deeply felt. And there is still another element of his complex fear, which is perhaps implied here, but is certainly not explicit.

Johnson had an understanding of the 'theory of annihilation' which can leave no doubt that, though he rejected it, he had entertained it at one time or another and it had given him some terrible moments.³⁵ In a conversation with Miss Seward, 15 April 1778, the question was discussed:

MISS SEWARD. 'There is one mode of the fear of death, which is certainly absurd; and that is the dread of annihilation, which is only a pleasing sleep without a dream.' JOHNSON. 'It is neither pleasing nor sleep; it is nothing. Now mere existence is so much better than nothing, that one would rather exist even in pain, than not exist.' ... 'The lady confounds annihilation which is nothing, with the apprehension of it, which is dreadful. It is in the apprehension of it that the horror of annihilation consists.'³⁶

The resolution of the contradiction found in the passages we have been quoting would seem to be this. Johnson was on the one hand a hard-headed empiricist,³⁷ as his literary criticism sufficiently demonstrates aside from the evidence of these passages. So far, he was typical of his age and not dissimilar to Hume himself. But, in addition, he was a man of great religious imagination; or perhaps the much abused word intuition is more

³⁴ *Works*, IV, 271-272. (*Idler*, No. 41.)

³⁵ The theory of annihilation, i.e. thoroughgoing materialism, was probably more often held than professed in the eighteenth century. Anthony Collins deduced it, in his *Letter to Mr Dodwell* (1707) from Locke's psychology, holding that the imposition of spirit upon matter is impossible. In France Baron d'Holbach, of course, professed it in public with a certain amount of bravado. Hume is certainly the most distinguished Englishman of his time to adopt it, but in this matter at least he seems to have had little popular following.

³⁶ *Life*, III, 295-296.

³⁷ His own phrase for this side of his nature is 'obstinate rationality.' *Life*, IV, 289.

accurate. In general his intuitions prevailed over his tendency toward rationalism in matters of religion. But occasionally the sceptical spirit thrust itself forward, and such a keen perception as that fear lies in the apprehension of annihilation would be the result.

The importance of the fear of death to Johnson's devotional life is a matter I hope to treat at another time. I have discussed it here in connection with his scruples because it explains to a large extent the need which he felt for rational evidence of the truth of religion. It was in great part the sceptical spirit which, as it emphasized his fear of death, from a source essentially not Christian, also led him on an unending quest for these evidences of the truth of Christianity. Johnson's imagination was deeply satisfied by the accounts of revelation in the New Testament and was quick to appreciate Law's *Serious Call*, but his 'obstinate rationality' led him to meet the enemies of religion on their own ground, and satisfied his own passion for 'rational inquiry.'³⁸

III

Johnson's interest in logical demonstrations of religion manifests itself in two ways. On the one hand he wished proof of the existence of God and of God's goodness; on the other, he was constantly concerned to present the Christian Revelation and its supporting miracles in such light that they should not appear incredible to reason, but rather as actually more likely of truth than some things universally accepted. The first time that Boswell called upon him, 24 May 1763, Johnson discussed both these matters:

"The Christian religion has very strong evidences. It, indeed, appears in some degree strange to reason; but in History we have undoubted facts, against which, in reasoning *a priori*, we have more arguments than we have for them; but then, testimony has great weight, and casts the balance. I would recommend to every man whose faith is yet unsettled, Grotius, — Dr. Pearson, — and Dr. Clarke."³⁹

Waiving for the moment Johnson's argument about religious and historical evidences, to which we shall add more material later, let us try to determine why he should recommend Grotius, Pearson, and Clarke as though he were certain they would convince a man not yet persuaded to the side of religion or against it. In order to answer this question it is necessary first to understand the great importance of such men as Clarke in the eighteenth century. As we shall see presently, Clarke was a rationalist, that is, one

³⁸ Scepticism, or rather, empiricism is of the essence of Protestantism and goes back to such classic sources of English church doctrine as Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. With the rise of Tillotson and Burnet to church power in the later seventeenth century the empirical, rationalistic, and Protestant tendency achieved the upper hand and dominated the Church of England throughout the eighteenth century. According to Mark Pattison, 'With some trifling exceptions, the whole of religious literature was drawn into the endeavour to "prove the truth" of Christianity. The essay and the sermon, the learned treatise and the philosophical disquisition, Addison the polite writer, and Bentley the classical philologist, the astronomer Newton, no less than the theologians by profession, were all engaged upon the same task.' (*Essays*, II, 47.) One might add that Butler's *Analogy* became the most important theological book of the century, though Johnson preferred certain others who wrote in the same vein.

³⁹ *Life*, I, 398.

who accepted reason as the final criterion of belief. According to Mark Pattison, one 'who surveys the course of English theology during the eighteenth century will have no difficulty in recognizing, that throughout all discussions, underneath all controversies, and common to all parties, lies the assumption of the supremacy of reason in matters of religion.'⁴⁰

The most fertile and persuasive source for this rationalism is Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689), though the 'natural religion' which is based upon reason goes back at least to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and seeds of it were sown by Burnet and Tillotson before the *Essay* was published.⁴¹ Two passages from Locke will serve to show how his book laid the foundation of rationalistic theology. In the first he attacks 'enthusiasm' because:

laying reason by (it) would set up revelation without it. Whereby in effect it takes away both reason and revelation, and substitutes in the room of them the ungrounded fancies of a man's own brain, and assumes them for a foundation both of opinion and conduct.⁴²

The second passage is positive:

Reason is *natural revelation*, whereby the eternal Father of light and fountain of knowledge, communicates to mankind that portion of truth which he has laid within the reach of their natural faculties. *Revelation is natural reason enlarged* by a new set of discoveries communicated by God immediately; which reason vouches the truth of by the testimony and proofs it gives that they come from God.⁴³

These ideas Locke developed more fully in his *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), but this never gained such currency as the *Essay*. Here are two typical instances of Locke's influence:

Let what is written in all the books of the New Testament be tried by that which is the touchstone of all religions, I mean that religion of nature and reason which God has written in the hearts of every one of us from the first creation; and if it varies from it in any one particular ... I will then acknowledge this to be an argument against us, strong enough to overthrow the whole cause, and make all things else that can be said for it totally ineffectual for its support.⁴⁴

Indeed, if in revelation there be found any passages, the seeming meaning of which is contrary to religion, we may most certainly conclude such seeming meaning not to be the real one.⁴⁵

The most influential of all divines upon the English Church of the eighteenth century was Archbishop Tillotson (1630-1694). In his younger

⁴⁰ *Essays*, II, 45.

⁴¹ For example, Tillotson writes:

All our reasonings about revelation are necessarily gathered by our natural notions about religion, and therefore he who sincerely desires to do the will of God is not apt to be imposed upon by vain pretences of divine revelation. (*Sermons*, ed. 1752, III, 485.)

⁴² *Essay*, ed. Fraser, IV, xix, 3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁴ Humphrey Prideaux, Dean of Norwich, *Letter to the Deists*, 1708.

⁴⁵ Joseph Butler's *Analogy*, II, i. Other books which directly reflect Locke's influence are: John Norris' *Account of Reason and Faith in Relation to the Mysteries of Christianity*, 1697; William Wollaston's *Religion of Nature Delineated*, 1722; A. A. Sykes' *Essay on the Truth of Christian Religion*, 1725; James Foster (non-Conformist), *Usefulness, Truth, and Excellency of the Christian Religion*, 1731; George Benson's *Reasonableness of Christianity*, 1743; and Thomas Randolph's *The Christian Faith, a Rational Assent*, 1744.

days he was a non-Conformist and a close friend of Richard Baxter; and after he went over to the Established Church he was never an enemy to non-Conformism. During his lifetime Tillotson was the object of several attacks for heresy, but always he either defended himself with consummate skill or entrusted the task to his great friend Burnet, who was equally skilful and in thorough agreement with him. According to Sir Leslie Stephen, Tillotson was 'the writer of the seventeenth century who was most generally read and admired in the eighteenth.' 'The most tangible testimony to his wide popularity is that the copyright of his posthumous sermons was sold for 2,500 guineas.'⁴⁶ This was in 1695, when a fourteen volume edition began to appear. There were several more editions of varying sizes until 1752 when Birch's standard edition in three volumes was published. The significance of Tillotson is that, as the quotation given above indicates, he was empirical, inclined toward rationalism, and very definitely protestant; so that later writers as they leaned toward rationalism, natural religion, and even deism, could appeal for support to his great authority. It is well known, for example, that his views on the Trinity, which were attacked by Leslie, were influential upon Clarke in his heretical *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*.

As regards Clarke, Pearson, and Grotius and their appeal to Johnson, one thing can be easily demonstrated: we are not dealing with separate problems, but one only. That is to say, the chief treatises of these three authors, Grotius' *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, Pearson's *An Exposition of the Creed*, and Clarke's Boyle Lectures: *A Discourse Concerning the Being and Attributes of God*, etc., contain what is essentially the same argument: metaphysical demonstration of a First Cause in the manner of Aristotle, and identification of the First Cause with the Christian God. I quote from Dr. Clarke, since Johnson was most interested in him:

II. *There has Existed from Eternity, Some One Unchangeable and Independent Being.* For since Something must needs have been from Eternity; as has already been proved, and is granted on all hands: Either there has always existed some one Unchangeable and Independent Being, from which all other Beings that are or ever were in the Universe, have received their Original; or else there has been an infinite Succession of changeable and dependent Beings produced one from another in an endless Progression, *without* any Original Cause at all.

This supposition Clarke considers so absurd that though atheists are finally forced to defend it, they will not openly admit it. He considers it, in fact, a plain contradiction:

... if we consider such an infinite Progression, as *One* entire Endless *Series* of *Dependent* Beings; 'tis plain that this whole *Series* of *Beings* can have no Cause *from without*, of its existence; because in it are supposed to be included *all Things* that are or ever were in the Universe: And 'tis plain that it can have no Reason *within itself*, of its existence; because no *One* Being in this Infinite Succession is supposed to be Self-existent or *Necessary*, (which is the only Ground or Reason of existence of any thing, that can be imagined *within the thing itself*, as will presently more fully appear,) but every one *Dependent* on the foregoing: And where *no Part* is necessary, 'tis manifest the *Whole* cannot be necessary: Absolute Necessity of Existence, not being an *extrinsick*, *relative*, and accidental denomination; but an *inward* and *essential* Property of the Nature of the Thing which so exists. An infinite series therefore of merely *Dependent* Beings, without

⁴⁶ *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, I, 77-78.

any Original, Independent Cause, nor any Reason or Ground *at all* of its Existence either *within itself* or *from without*: That is, 'tis an express contradiction and Impossibility; 'tis a supposing *Something* to be caused, (because 'tis granted in every one of its Stages of Succession *not* to be *necessarily* and *of itself*;) and yet that, in the whole, 'tis caused *absolutely by Nothing*. Which every man knows is a contradiction to imagine done in *Time*; and, because Duration in this Case makes no Difference, 'tis equally a Contradiction to suppose it done *from Eternity*. And consequently there must, *on the contrary*, of Necessity have existed from Eternity, some *One Immutable and Independent Being*.⁴⁷

Such argument as this is easily traceable back to the ontological 'proofs' of God's existence employed in the medieval time by St. Thomas and St. Anselm, and thence back to the metaphysics of Aristotle or Plato.⁴⁸

Let us continue with Clarke and follow his argument in its general outlines, trying to discover what special appeal it had for Johnson. The First Cause having been demonstrated, the business of the rest of the treatise is to show that this is the God of Christianity. In Proposition IV it is asserted that the essence or substance of the supreme being is unknowable, which is proved by analogy from the inability of man to discover the true essence of observable phenomena. However, it can be shown what are the attributes of the First Cause. And this matter is treated in Proposition V. The proof has already been made because it has been shown that the supreme being has 'eternity of existence', which is an attribute. Proposition VI demonstrates the infinity and omnipresence of the self-existent being:

To be Self-existent (as has been already shown,) is to Exist by an Absolute Necessity in the Nature of the Thing itself. Now this Necessity being Absolute in itself, and not depending on any Outward Cause; 'tis evident it must be *everywhere*, as well as *always* unalterably the same.⁴⁹

From this it follows that 'the Self-existent being, must be a most *simple, Unchangeable, Incorruptible Being; without Parts, Figure, Motion, Divisibility*, or any other such Properties as we find in Matter.'⁵⁰ Next it must be shown that the supreme being is intelligent. And here we come to what must have been the center of the argument for Johnson. 'In this Proposition lies the main Question between us and the atheists,' says Clarke, for they will all eventually admit a First Cause but they will always either deny its intelligence or maintain that if it is intelligent it has no power of will and choice (Spinoza).⁵¹ The atheists are overthrown in this fashion:

⁴⁷ *A Discourse Concerning the Being and Attributes of God*, London, 1732, 11-13.

⁴⁸ Pearson, in fact, documents his positions with references to the *Metaphysics* and *Physics* of Aristotle. The classic source in Plato for this kind of argument is *Laws X*.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, 44.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 45. If any evidence were needed, Clarke's denial of motion to his supreme being stamps him as an Aristotelian, not a Platonist.

⁵¹ Compare the famous argument which Lactantius puts into the mouth of an Epicurean (de *Ira*, 13):

'God, ... either wills to abolish evils and is not able, or is able and does not will; or He neither wills nor is able; or He both wills and is able. If He wills and is not able, He is feeble; which cannot be said of God. If He is able and does not will, He is malicious; which is also foreign to God. If He neither wills nor is able, He is both malicious and feeble; and so is not God. If He wills and is able, whence then are evils, or why does He not abolish them ?

... the Self-existent Being, ... must of necessity (being the Original of all things) contain in itself the Sum and highest Degree of all the Perfections of all things. ... because 'tis impossible that any Effect should have any Perfection which was not in the Cause. For if it had, then that Perfection would be caused by nothing; which is a plain Contradiction. Now an *Unintelligent* Being, 'tis evident, cannot be endued with all the Perfections of all things in the World; because *Intelligence* is one of those Perfections. All things therefore cannot arise from an Unintelligent Original: And consequently the Self-existent Being, must of necessity be *Intelligent*.⁵²

To this, argues Clarke, the atheist can only reply that intelligence is not a perfection. And he proceeds to argue that it is a perfection (used synonymously with *quality*) from the nature of sounds, colors, etc., which have no existence in the absence of mind; and that it is not merely matter 'endued with Figure and Motion.' Proposition IX maintains that the First Cause is 'not a necessary Agent, but a Being indued with Liberty and Choice.'⁵³ This follows from the previous attribution of intelligence and we need not stop upon it. The next proposition, that the supreme being has infinite power, is proved by what has preceded:

For since nothing ... can possibly be Self-existent, besides Himself; and consequently all Things in the Universe were made by Him and are entirely dependent upon Him; and all the Powers of all Things are derived from Him, and must therefore be perfectly Subject and Subordinate to Him: 'tis manifest that nothing can make any Difficulty or Resistance to the Execution of his Will ...⁵⁴

It now remains only to show that this being is also infinitely wise and good, and these are Clarke's last two propositions. That he is infinitely wise follows of necessity from what has gone before; and he is infinitely good because 'being Himself necessarily *Happy* in the Eternal Enjoyment of his own infinite Perfections, he cannot possibly have any other Motives to make any Creatures at all, but only that he may communicate to Them his own Perfections ...'⁵⁵

Thus can metaphysics build up with words a First Cause and so endow it with qualities as to warrant calling it God. This process is as old as philosophy and has been used by Christian thinkers from the earliest days. Theologians and laymen have differed sharply as to the value of such argument. It has left many devout men quite cold and unresponsive,

⁵² *Op. cit.*, 51-52.

⁵³ The deist Anthony Collins (1676-1729) is an interesting example of Clarke's influence. Collins was a friend and disciple of Locke, and in 1707 wrote a *Letter to Mr. Dodwell* in which, on the basis of Locke's psychology, he attacked Clarke's theory of human immortality (Boyle Lectures 2d part). This precipitated a battle of pamphlets. In 1715 he wrote his *Philosophical Inquiry Concerning Human Liberty*, in which, in rather undeistical fashion, he argued for free will and purposive choice, but without reference to theology. This also was attacked by Clarke. The differences between the two, however, were not at all of first principles but of the direction of their arguments. Thus Collins quotes Clarke with great approval and refers to him as a man 'whose authority is equal to that of many others put together, and makes it needless to cite others after him.' (*Philosophical Inquiry*, ed. 1717, 112.) The relation between Clarke and Collins is significant because it shows how close in method and principle the Christian theologian and the deist were in the early eighteenth century, and shows likewise how the method of Clarke can be used for a purpose opposite to his.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 116.

while for others it has served as a needed support of faith.⁵⁶ Clarke's logic, as my quotations will have made apparent, was scarcely impregnable, and Johnson must surely have been aware of this. Nevertheless it did not leave him cold. He recommended it highly for reasons which will by now be sufficiently clear.⁵⁷ In his time as well as Clarke's these metaphysical demonstrations were being used in opposition to, as they well may be, rather than support of the Christian religion; and here was a man who was not overcome. In fact Clarke directs much of his argument against Hobbes and Spinoza. Johnson could use it against Hume or the French, or against the deists.⁵⁸ Much of it is sufficiently plausible to have been a source of support for his faith, which we know he occasionally found weak. It could be recommended to a man of unsettled faith because it 'proved' the existence of God with the same tools that non-religious philosophers were using to raise up a meaningless absolute. Grotius, as I have said, used this same argument, and his case takes on weight as Johnson pointed out, because he was a lawyer 'accustomed to examine evidence.' Finally, Pearson was a valuable authority because he applied the rationalist method in expounding and supporting each article of the Apostles Creed. Thus these books filled the double function of satisfying, to some extent at least, Johnson's own tendency toward rationalism, and of providing materials with which to defend his faith on the same ground as non-believers attacked it:

I expressed a wish (says Boswell), to have the arguments for Christianity always in readiness, that my religious faith might be as firm and clear as any proposition whatever, so that I need not be under the least uneasiness, when it should be attacked. JOHNSON. 'Sir, you cannot answer all objections. You have demonstration for a First Cause: you see he must be good as well as powerful, because there is nothing to make him otherwise, and goodness itself is preferable. Yet you have against this, what is very certain, the unhappiness of human life. This, however, gives us reason to hope for a future state of compensation, that there may be a perfect system. But of that we were not sure, till we had a positive revelation.'⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Paul Elmer More, for example, found argument of this kind quite unreal and unpersuasive, while C. C. J. Webb, the distinguished English philosopher, is convinced by it. The relation between such theology as Clarke's and that of the great scholastics is clear enough. But the basic reasons for metaphysical theology in the Middle Ages and in the eighteenth century were very different. A St. Thomas or a Duns Scotus was not at all defending religion against attack. Rather he was intent upon glorifying God by showing how He works through physical nature and through the greatest of all human philosophies, the Aristotelian, which had been recently re-discovered; and how, in turn, nature and philosophy prove the existence of God and his goodness. But in Clarke's time, as for nearly a century earlier, there was such strong attack upon revealed religion from the rationalists that theologians wishing to use the same method, and reflecting the influence of rationalism on them, turned to the scholastics and to Greek metaphysics, in order to defend revelation by showing that it harmonizes with 'natural religion.'

⁵⁷ As a matter of fact Johnson is very conventional in this matter, for Clarke was the most distinguished English philosopher from the time of Locke's death in 1704 for a quarter century. His Boyle Lectures reached six editions by 1725 and there were many more during Johnson's lifetime. Pearson's *Exposition of the Creed* was immediately (1659) recognized as the best piece of English dogmatic theology and went through many editions, of which the ninth, published by William Bowyer the elder in 1710, is standard. It is still reprinted.

⁵⁸ The master refutation of the very method used is Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, but he did not publish them, and they appeared only in 1776.

⁵⁹ *Life*, III, 316-317.

On this same day, 19 April 1778, Johnson resolved in his memorandum book. 'To study Divinity, particularly the evidences of Christianity.'⁶⁰ This no doubt he did, as he had done often before. But the arguments he found in Baxter's *Evidences* and Clarke's second series of Boyle Lectures had no such appeal for him as the arguments for the being of God. He never thought them effective enough for his own use in discussion.

He had, on the contrary, a method of his own. That is to say, the method he used, though old enough, was natural to him as metaphysics was not. This was the argument from testimony and comparative credibility. I quote two passages in illustration. One is a famous argument recorded by Boswell, the other, less well known, from Windham's diary:

Talking of those who denied the truth of Christianity, he said, 'It is always easy to be on the negative side. If a man were now to deny that there is salt on the table, you could not reduce him to an absurdity. Come, let us try this a little further. I deny that Canada is taken, and I can support my denial by pretty good arguments. The French are a much more numerous people than we; and it is not likely that they would allow us to take it. "But the ministry have assured us, in all the formality of the Gazette, that it is taken." — Very true. But the ministry have put us to an enormous expence by the war in America, and it is their interest to persuade us that we have got something for our money. — "But the fact is confirmed by thousands of men who were at the taking of it." — Ay, but these men have still more interest in deceiving us. They don't want that you should think the French have beat them, but that they have beat the French. Now suppose that you should go over and find that it is really taken, that would only satisfy yourself; for when you come home we will not believe you. We will say, you have been bribed. — Yet, Sir, notwithstanding all these plausible objections, we have no doubt that Canada is really ours. Such is the weight of common testimony. How much stronger are the evidences of the Christian religion?'⁶¹

The passage from Windham is of a somewhat different character. It is not clever as this one is, which no doubt was meant in part to dazzle Boswell. But one feels that it comes from a deeper place in Johnson's religious consciousness, perhaps because he knew he was near his end. It seems to be the general view which most satisfied the sceptical side of his nature:

For revealed religion, he said, there was such historical evidence, as upon any subject not religious, would have left no doubt. Had the facts recorded in the New Testament been mere civil occurrences, no one would have called in question the testimony by which they are established; but the importance annexed to them, amounting to nothing less than the salvation of mankind, raised a cloud in our minds, and created doubts unknown upon any other subject. Of proofs to be derived from history, one of the most cogent, he seemed to think, was the opinion so well authenticated, and so long entertained, of a Deliverer that was to appear about that time. ... For the immediate life and miracles of Christ, such attestation as that of the apostles, who all, except St. John, confirmed their testimony with their blood; such belief as their witness procured from a people best furnished with the means of judging, and least disposed to judge favorably, such an extension afterwards of that belief over all the nations of the earth, though originating from a nation of all others most despised, would leave no doubt that the things witnessed were true, and were of a nature more than human. With respect to evidence, Dr. Johnson observed, that we had not such evidence that Caesar died in the Capitol, as that Christ died in the manner related.⁶²

⁶⁰ *Miscellanies*, I, 84.

⁶¹ *Life*, I, 428.

⁶² *Miscellanies*, II, 384. (December 1784)

IV

Closely related to these defenses of Christianity is Johnson's view of miracles. As an empiricist he was always sceptical of miraculous occurrences described to him — as witness the famous "ghost in Cock Lane". But his religious imagination was able to grasp the notion of miracles upon a much higher plane. His discussion of this problem leads us again to the differences between him and Hume, and also, in a way, discloses a point of agreement. As he answers Hume, he is replying to the kind of scepticism which was central to eighteenth century philosophy and has tended to gain strength rather than to lose it. But Johnson's defense is nevertheless a staunch one. In one of their early talks, 21 July 1763, Boswell raised the question of miracles to Johnson:

I mentioned Hume's argument against the belief of miracles, that it is more probable that the witnesses to the truth of them are mistaken, or speak falsely, than that the miracles should be true. JOHNSON. 'Why, Sir, the great difficulty of proving miracles should make us very cautious in believing them. But let us consider; although God has made Nature to operate by certain fixed laws, yet it is not unreasonable to think that he may suspend those laws, in order to establish a system highly advantageous to mankind. Now the Christian religion is a most beautiful system, as it gives us light and certainty where before we were in darkness and doubt. The miracles which prove it are attested by men who had no interest in deceiving us; but who, on the contrary, were told that they should suffer persecution, and did actually lay down their lives in confirmation of the truth of the facts which they asserted. Indeed, for some centuries the heathens did not pretend to deny the miracles; but said they were performed by evil spirits. This is a circumstance of great weight. Then, Sir, when we take the proofs derived from prophecies which have been so exactly fulfilled, we have most satisfactory evidence. Supposing a miracle possible, as to which, in my opinion, there can be no doubt, we have as strong evidence for the miracles in support of Christianity, as the nature of the thing admits.'⁶³

This passage shows clearly enough why Johnson would agree with Hume or any other rationalist that ghosts are, to say the least, not probable. His difference from Hume is the fundamental one that he supposes a good-willing, all powerful agent who may at will suspend the natural order, and who did so in the case of the miracles recorded in the New Testament. Such a supposition Hume was unwilling to make. To him all miracles were imaginary and credible only to superstition. Johnson, on the other hand, because he possessed the religious imagination Hume lacked, perceived a sharp distinction between superstition and mythology, between the gullibility of the ignorant and belief in a purposeful interference with the normal order of events by a benevolent God. Perhaps the following passage, briefer and more pointed though expressing the same idea, will serve to clarify the distinction:

Talking of Dr. Johnson's unwillingness to believe extraordinary things, I ventured to say, 'Sir, you come near Hume's argument against miracles, "That it is more probable witnesses should lie, or be mistaken, than that they should happen."' JOHNSON. 'Why, Sir, Hume, taking the proposition simply, is right. But the Christian revelation is not proved by the miracles alone, but as connected with prophecies, and with the doctrines in confirmation of which the miracles were wrought.'⁶⁴

⁶³ *Life*, I, 444-445.

⁶⁴ *Life*, II, 183.

The agreement between Hume and Johnson is superficial; the disagreement fundamental. But Johnson admired Hume's intellectual powers and was eager to excuse his infidelity:

He said, no honest man could be a Deist; for no man could be so after a fair examination of the proofs of Christianity. I named Hume. JOHNSON. 'No, Sir; Hume owned to a clergyman in the bishoprick of Durham that he had never read the New Testament with attention.'⁶⁵

V

It may be valuable at this point to sum up the positions which our materials illustrate. It is not, I think, permissible to impose a formalistic analysis upon a man's religious experience and attitude, particularly if he is not a theologian. That experience is a whole thing, as is the attitude which results from it. But it is valid, for purposes of convenience, to view it from more than one point of vantage. Johnson's religious experience actually permits of study from at least three different points. Firstly, there are his fine religious imagination and conscience which were deeply moved by William Law and always responded to the accounts of revelation in the New Testament. It was his imagination which brought about his awakening to religion. Secondly, he was typical of his time in his love of a well-reasoned argument and in his sceptical and critical spirit. The writings of Grotius, Pearson, and, above all, Samuel Clarke met this need and supplied him with material with which to defend his faith against rationalist attack. Thirdly, again in conformity with the intellectual tendency then current, he was anxious that his beliefs should appear reasonable to others, which is to say, he was no mystic. This end he attempted to gain by pointing out the inconsistency of refusing to accept testimony in matters religious while accepting no more competent authority in matters secular, and by presenting a view of miracles which would raise them far above the level of superstition.

Thus it may be said that on one plane Johnson was in conformity with the main trend of thought in his day; yet on another he was apart from it. This, of course, means that there was a deep conflict within the totality of his experience which caused him much suffering. But it renders his experience doubly significant as it reflects the contradiction in the world about him between the Christian inheritance and the rationalist spirit, which for better or worse, has been moving the world since his time.

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⁶⁵ *Life*, II, 8-9.
E. S. XX. 1938.

Notes and News

Notes on Coriolanus

(Conclusion *)

(The text is F, line-numbering as in Oxford 1 vol. ed.)

III. 1. 136-8. *which will in time*
Breake ope the Lockes a'th'Senate, and bring in
The Crowes to pecke the Eagles.

Cf. Com. Err. III. 1. 78-84:

E. Dro. *I pray thee let me in*
S. Dro. *I, when fowles haue no feathers and fish haue no fin.*
Ant. *Well, Ile break in: go borrow me a crow.*
E. Dro. *A crow without feather, Master meane you so;*
For a fish without a finne, ther's a fowle without afether,
If a crow help us in sirra, wee'll plucke a crow together.
Ant. *Go, get thee gon, fetch me an iron Crow.*

The mob would use the 'crows' to break open the locks and would bring them in as weapons; they would then be vulgar 'crows' attacking the senatorial eagles.

III. 2. 75. *Thy Knee bussing the stones: for in such busnesse ...* In this ironical speech *busnesse* receives the ironical overtone of a nonce abstract formed from 'buss'.

III. 2. 99. *my unbarb'd Sconce.* A principal reason for the choice of these words would seem to be their military associations, appropriate for Coriolanus; but this need not exclude the sense 'unshaven' for *unbarb'd*. Commentators have interpreted either 'unshaven' or 'unprotected'. This is a typical case, however, for the 'both-and' approach increasingly used nowadays for all verse, but especially for early 17th century verse.⁴ Other cases in *Coriolanus* are V. 1. 16-7:

A paire of Tribunes, that haue wrack'd for Rome,
To make Coales cheape.

'Either-or' commentators have plumped for 'rack' (in the sense 'exerted themselves to the utmost') or 'wreck'. It seems likely that the main sense is 'rack', but it is impossible to exclude the ironical overtone of 'wreck'. The tribunes' racking has resulted in wrecking. And V. 4. 51:

Ne're through an Arch so hurried the blowne Tide

Commentators interpret *blowne* as either 'driven by the wind' or 'swollen'. How is it possible to distinguish these in such a context? Cf Per. V. 1. 256 *our blown sails, All's Well* I. 1. 136-7 *Virginity beeing blowne downe, Man will quicklier be blowne up.* (In the latter, of course, there are also other senses.)

III. 2. 100-1. *Must I with my base Tongue giue to my Noble Heart*
A Lye

* See E. S. XIX (Feb. 1937), 13 ff.

⁴ Cf W. Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity* and *Some Versions of Pastoral*.

For the opposition of 'base' and 'noble' cf Wint IV. 3. 94-5:

*And make conceyve a barke of baser kind
By bud of Nobler race,*

Lucr. 660, Per. II. 5. 59-60, Oth II. 1. 218-9, Temp III. 1. 2-3. For the quibble 'bass' and 'base' cf Gentl I. 2. 93:

The meane is dround with you vnruely base,

where there is a parallel quibble on *meane*; and H4A II. 4. 5-6: *I haue sounded the verie base string of humility*. The puns on *base* and *unbarb'd* (99) indicate an attempt by Coriolanus to make the part he is to play less unpalatable by taking up an attitude of bitter jocularity to it.

III. 2. 107. *I prythee now*. Cf 72 *I pry thee now*, 89 *Prythee now*, 98 *Prythee now*. Volumnia's repetition of this phrase — and in three of the four cases it begins a speech — is one of the effects that in this scene detract from her dignity and make her a slightly contemptible and 'humorous' figure, with her insinuating Machiavellianism.

III. 3. 25-30. *Put him to Choller strait* ...

*Being once chafft, he cannot
Be rein'd againe to Temperance
... that is there which looks
With us to break his necke.*

Choller, chafft, rein'd, break his necke suggest the image of a horse that will not stand a collar. Commentators usually recognise this image of an unruly horse in *chafft* and *rein'd*, but do not extend it to *Choller* and *break his necke*. For the play in *Choller* cf H4A II. 4. 361-2:

*Bard. Choler, my Lord, if rightly taken
Prin. No, if rightly taken, Halter;*

and Rom I. 1. 4-6:

*Samp. ... if we be in choller, wee'l draw.
Greg. I, while you liue, draw your necke out o'th Collar.*

III. 3. 62-4 *you haue contriu'd to take
From Rome all season'd Office, and to winde
Your selfe into a power tyrannical*

season'd is explained as 'qualified' or 'matured'. *season'd* might be opposed to *tyrannical* in another sense — 'for a season', a tyranny not being for a season.

III. 3. 120. *As the dead Carkasses of vnburied men*
Cf Webster *The White Diuel* V. 4. 92 (Lucas ed.):

The friendlesse bodies of unburied men.

Many other Shakespeare echoes have been pointed out in this scene.

IV. 1. 32. *exceed the Common*. The usual interpretation is 'do something exceptional'. It might also mean 'get the better of the common people'. For *Common* meaning 'commons' cf I. 1. 157, III. 1. 28.

IV. 3. 23-5. *they are in a ripe aptnesse, to take al power from the people, and to plucke from them their Tribunes for euer*. An example of image-drift. The fruit image in *ripe aptnesse*, first used of the nobles, is transferred to the tribunes in *plucke*. Cf IV. 6. 93-5:

they follow him
Against vs Brats, with no lesse Confidence
Then Boyes pursuing Summer Butter-flies,

where *Brats* means the Romans but *Boyes* the Volsces.

Act IV Scene 3 illustrates Yeats' 'Emotion of Multitude' (cf *Ideas of Good and Evil* 1903 p. 339). The treachery of Nicanor affords a parallel to that of Coriolanus; Verity (*Coriolanus* p. 211) characterises this scene as an onlookers'; but Adrian and Nicanor are not spectators — they are active spies.

IV. 4. 26—IV. 5. 2. *Ile do his Country Seruice. Exit*
Musicke playes. Enter a Seruingman.
1Ser. Wine, Wine, Wine: What seruice is heere?

seruice in the mouth of the servant provides an ironically degrading comment on *Seruice* in the mouth of Coriolanus. One scene would follow the former without break, so the word would echo across with peculiar emphasis. (Cf H. Granville-Barker on emphasis through scene-change in Shakespeare, *Prefaces to Shakespeare Second Series* 1930 pp. 121-122.)

IV. 5. 28-34. 3. *What are you?*
Corio. A Gentleman.
3. A maru'llous poore one.
Corio. True, so I am.
3. Pray you poore Gentleman, take up some other station:
Heere's no place for you, pray you auoid.

The play on *poore* is obvious. There is also a play on *station*: 'Go and stand somewhere else' and 'Be of some other rank than that of gentleman' — i.e. 'I don't believe you are a gentleman'. There is the same play in II. 1. 232-4:

seld-showne Flamins
Doe presse among the popular Throngs, and puffe
To winne a vulgar station,

and in *Mcb* III. 1. 102-3:

if you haue a station in the file,
Not i'th' worst ranke of Manhood,

where *ranke* provides a quibble parallel to *station*.

IV. 5. 67-8. *Though thy Tackles torne,*
Thou shew'st a Noble Vessell:

Play on vessel: 'ship' and 'person'. Cf. All's Well II. 3. 213-5: *the scarffes and the banerets about thee, did manifoldlie dissuade me from beleeuing thee a vessell of too great a burthen*. We have a similar play, with 'vessel' meaning rather 'body' than 'person' in *Per* IV. 4. 30-1:

A tempest which his mortall Vessell teares.
And yet he rides it out.

IV. 5. 120-4. (Aufidius to Coriolanus)
I lou'd the Maid I married; neuer man
Sigh'd truer breath. But that I see thee heere
Thou Noble Thing, more dances my rapt heart,
Then when I first my wedded Mistris saw
Bestride my Threshold.

Cf I. 6. 29-32. (Martius to Cominius)

*Oh let me clip ye
In Armes as sound, as when I woo'd in heart;
As merry, as when our Nuptiall day was done,
And Tapers burnt to Bedward.*

The similarity of these passages is increased in that they are spoken by one warrior to another. Yet this kind of speech between man and man needs to be distinguished from the expression of love between man and man in Shakespeare's sonnets. In these two passages one speaker is exalted by the heroic aura about the other — he expresses his love to a symbol of battle: in the sonnets the tone is personally tender.

IV. 5. 210-2. *our Generall is cut i'the middle, & but one halfe of what he was yesterday.*

The image would appear, appropriately for the 3rd Servingman, to be that of half a joint left over.

IV. 5. 226-7. *they will out of their Burroughes (like Conies after Raine)*
The early 17th century did not yet distinguish burrow and borough (cf OED art. Burrow sb1); but the senses 'town' and 'rabbit-hole' are both proper here. 'Borough' is spelt thus Shr Ind. 1. 13 and H4A IV. 3. 69; but *Burrough* H6C II. 1. 195.

IV. 5. 238-9. *It's sprightly walking, audible, and full of Vent.*

A good deal has been written on the sense of *Vent* here — chiefly on the senses 'outlet' and 'scent' (of a hound). But the problem has not been approached from an important aspect — that 'vent' was a ridiculous affectation, both as noun and verb — best seen in TN IV. 1. 10-18. A muster of the OED list of senses makes it clear that 'vent' was ridiculous because of its use about evacuation and the anus — OED *Vent* sb2 6, 9b; v2 2b. In our passage these associations become funnier by the presence of *audible*.

IV. 6. 81. *Oh you haue made good worke.* Cf. 89 *You haue made faire worke.*

These were missed by Verity, and should be added to his list of the occurrences of the phrase (*Coriolanus*, pp. 220, 223): 96, 101, 118, 148-9, V. 1. 15. The repetition is a 'humorous' touch.

IV. 6. 87-8. *Your Franchises, whereon you stood, confin'd
Into an Augors boare.*

The image elicits a literal sense from *stood* — there will not be room for them to stand on their franchises.

IV. 7. 48-53. — *but he ha's a Merit
To choake it in the utt'rance: So our Vertue,
Lie in the interpretation of the time,
And power vnto it selfe most commendable,
Hath not a Tombe so eident as a Chaire
T'extoll what it hath done.*

Several possible interpretations of 48-9 and 51-3, taken separately, have been advanced. But it seems as if these two are parallel, and then those interpretations of 48-9 and 51-3 which agree in sense should be selected.

Thus *he ha's a Merit To choak it in the utt'rance* means 'The boosting of his merit makes people turn against him, so that he loses his merit'; and *power ... Hath not a Tombe so euident as a Chaire T'extoll what it hath done* means 'The office given in praise of merit — which thereby acquires power — makes people turn against the person rewarded, so that he loses his reward'.

Thus 48-9 and 51-3 are variants of the same thought. This thought is further emphasised by 54-5:

*One fire driues out one fire; one Naile, one Naile;
Rights by rights fouler, strengths by strengths do faile.*

i.e. 'the seed of its destruction is in the thing itself'. This paradox is capped by the conclusion to which the whole Machiavellian speech has led up — 56-7:

*when Caius Rome is thine,,
Thou art poor'st of all; then shortly art thou mine.*

i.e. 'the very height of your success will cause your ruin, for it will lead — as it already has in Aufidius — to the reaction of jealousy in others.

It need hardly be said that this complex speech of Aufidius is in character. He is not represented as telling the audience truths, but as finding reasons to convince himself that he will come out on top in the end. Hence the subtlety and vagueness that have caused commentators so much trouble. In this respect we may compare another, more famous, attempt at self-conviction, Hamlet's ratiocination about not killing the King at prayers Hml III. 3. 73-95.

V. 1. 41-2. *Onely make triall what your Loue can do,
For Rome, towards Martius*

The commas seem to indicate a deliberately ambiguous construction:

1. What love can do for Rome.
2. What love can do towards (i.e. with) Martius.
3. What love for Rome can do.
4. What love towards (i.e. of) Martius can do.

V. 2. 11-13. *My name hath touch't youre eares: it is Menenius.
1. Be it so, go back: the vertue of your name,
Is not heere passable.*

touch't may well have suggested *vertue*. The soldier turns the first part of his reply as if Menenius had meant that the 'touch' of his name had a 'virtue'. For this use of touch cf. Mcb IV. 3. 142-145:

*their malady conuinces
The great assay of Art. But at his touch,
Such sanctity hath Heauen giuen his hand,
They presently amend.*

V. 2. 66-7. *Iacke gardant*. This has a mock-heraldic tone — 'guardant' being used of heraldic beasts — as well as meaning an impudent guard.

V. 3. 5-7. *Stopt your eares against the generall suite of Rome:
Neuer admitted a priuat whisper.*

priuat is contrasted with *generall* (i.e. 'public').

V. 3. 50-2.

*Sinke my knee i'th'earth,
Of thy deep duty, more impression shew
Then that of common Sonnes.*

Another 'humorous' touch. Even when deeply moved, Coriolanus retains his conceit — the ambiguous word 'common' appears at the climax of his emotion. Cf my note on 'beheld' I. 9. 39-40 (*English Studies* Feb. 1937, pp. 17-8).

V. 3. 57-9

*your knees to me?
To your Corrected Sonne?
Then let the Pibbles on the hungry beach
Fillop the Starres: Then, let the mutinous windes. ...*

hungry has been explained as 'eager for shipwrecks' and 'barren'. These are no doubt apposite for part of the effect; but, as Case asks (*Arden Shakespeare, Coriolanus* p. 201), 'Is there any connection between the hunger of the beach and its attack on the stars?' *the Pibbles on the hungry beach* is parallel to *Corrected Sonne*, and represents Coriolanus. The metaphor of hunger is used by Shakespeare of two things that suit Coriolanus — ambition and revenge. Cf H4B IV. 5. 93-5:

*Do'st thou so hunger for my emptie Chayre,
That thou wilt needes inuest thee with mine Honors
Before thy howre be ripe?*

Tim V. 4. 32: *If thy Revenges hunger for that Food*Rich III IV. 4. 61: *I am hungry for revenge.*

These overtones of 'ambitious' and 'eager for revenge' fit in with *Corrected* and *mutinous*, and provide the connection between 'the hunger of the beach and its attack on the stars'. *mutinous windes* also occurs in Temp V. 1. 42.

V. 3. 149-153. *Thou hast affected the fiue straines of Honor
To imitate the graces of the Gods.
To teare with Thunder the wide Cheekes a'th'Ayre,
And yet to change thy Sulphure with a Boul't
That should but riue an Oake.*

In 152 *change* is usually read 'charge', and the last two lines are taken as meaning 'temper terror with mercy'. Meas II. 2. 114-7 supports this sense:

*Mercifull heauen,
Thou rather with thy sharpe and sulpherous bolt
Splits the un-wedgable and gnarled Oke,
Then the soft Mertill*

V. 3. 158-9.

*There's no man in the world
More bound to's Mother*

This may well be Sophoclean irony. Volumnia means by *bound* to 'under obligation to', but the audience are at liberty to interpret 'tied to', remembering that Coriolanus' ultimate decisions are those of his mother. Oth III. 2. 213 has the same quibble, with tremendous Sophoclean irony. Othello says to Iago once his jealousy is well aroused, *I am bound to thee for euer*. And cf Ant II. 5. 58-9:

*Mes. He's bound vnto Octauia.
Cleo. For what good turn?
Mes. For the best turne i'th'bed.*

The play in *bound to* is made clear by the parallel play in *turn*. The Messenger means 'bound in marriage to'; Cleopatra takes the sense 'under obligation to'; the Messenger then takes *turn* in a literal sense and thereby reflects back a literal sense on to *bound to*, which is now thought of as meaning the 'binding' of the coital embrace.

V. 3. 170-1. *To his sur-name Coriolanus longs more pride
Then pittty to our Prayers.*

If *Coriolanus* here simply means 'conqueror of Corioli', these lines have no particular connection with their context; but if *Volumnia* is making it also mean 'man of Corioli', the quibble points the comparison: 'he is prouder of being a 'Volscian' than pitiful of our prayers'. This sense fits in with 178-80:

*This Fellow had a Volcean to his mother :
His wife is in Corioles, and his Childe
Like him by chance.*

The quibble also gives ironical point to IV. 5. 74-9: *My Surname Coriolanus ... only that name remains*. As he has left all behind him and gone over to the Volscians, 'only that name remains', a name which can mean 'man of Corioli'. And in *Aufidius'* lines V. 5. 88-90:

*Do'st thou thinke
Ile grace thee with that Robbery, thy stolne name
Coriolanus in Corioles?*

Robbery and stolne can best be motivated by a quibble on *Coriolanus*.

There is another problem in these and other passages in the last scene of the play: Shakespeare sometimes writes as if he thought the capital of the Volscians was Corioli, and sometimes as if it were Antium (cf introductory comments to the last scene, *Furness Variorum* pp. 563-4). There would seem to be no resolution of this dilemma, which is in any case a reader's problem, not an audience's. When Shakespeare thinks of Plutarch he writes Antium: when at other times the connection of *Coriolanus* and *Corioli* offers the opportunity of a dramatic effect, he thinks of that.

V. 3. 171-3. *Downe: an end,
This is the last. So, we will home to Rome,
And dye among our Neighbours :*

Modern editors have changed the tone by deleting the comma after *So*, making a pathetic 'Very well, then' into the glib drawing of a conclusion. *Neighbours* is an ironical flash like 170-1 and the sarcasm of 178-80: 'You are not our neighbour, but a Volscian'.

V. 4. 13-14. *this Martius, is growne from Man to Dragon*. Cf IV, 7. 23 *Fights Dragon-like*. These two remarks spring from one of the central images of the play, IV. 1. 29-31:

*I go alone
Like to a louely Dragon, that his Fenne
Makes fear d, and talk'd of more then seene.*

V. 4. 17-29. *he no more remembers his Mother now, then an eight yeare old horse. The tartnesse of his face, sowres ripe Grapes. When*

he walks, he moves like an Engine, and the ground shrinkes before his Treading. He is able to pierce a Corslet with his eye: Talkes like a knell, and his hum is a Battery. He sits in his State, as a thing made for Alexander. What he bids bee done, is finisht with his bidding. He wants nothing of a God but Eternity, and a Heaven to Throne in ... I paint him in the Character.

Another example of and reference to the character-writing that became popular about 1608 (cf II. 1. 52-104 and my note, *English Studies* Feb. 1937, p. 19). Menenius 'characterises' Coriolanus in terms so extreme that Shakespeare may well be parodising 'character' style here.

V. 5. 85. *Traitor. 97-8. at his Nurses teares He whined and roar'd away your Victory. 119. this unholy Braggart.*

The underlying tone of this death scene is 'humorous'. Aufidius accuses Coriolanus of being traitorous, childish, and boastful. He knows that these accusations, which are partly true, will make Coriolanus burst out far more readily than lies, because the truth in them will sting him. Another 'humorous' device, used in various places in the play (cf notes on II. 1. 60-5 *English Studies* Feb. 1937, p. 18; and above on III. 2. 107, IV. 6. 81), attains its grandest use at Coriolanus' death: — 101 *thou boy of Teares* is picked up by Coriolanus in 104 *Boy? Oh Slave*, 113 *Boy, false Hound*, and 117 *Alone I did it, Boy*. These touches are reinforced by a subtler irony:

103-7.

Corio. Measureless Lyar ...

... 'tis the first time that euer

*I was forc'd to scoul'd. Your iudgments my graue Lords
Must giue this Curre the Lye.*

Coriolanus calls Aufidius a liar when he is lying himself, for much of Coriolanus' utterance is scolding, from his first appearance — I. 1. 170-228; I. 4. 30-40; I. 5. 4-8; I. 9. 41-53; III. 1. 60-170; III. 3. 67-73, 118-133. And he appeals to the judgment of the Lords when his own judgment has never been so plainly absent. His last words are *my lawfull Sword* (131). He means that he has a right to kill Aufidius; but the audience will remember that the tragedy is due to his using his sword unlawfully against his own country.

The sum effect of these ironical devices is to warrant the conclusion that Shakespeare has treated no other hero so coolly at his death-point. In no other play is he so close to the method of Ben Jonson. *Coriolanus* is the tragedy of a choleric humour. Shakespeare wants his audience to think about Coriolanus rather than be moved with him; and the moral is an unexalted, reflective one: *Let's make the Best of it.* (V. 5. 148).

Lund.

A. H. KING.

The Phonemic Development of Spirants in English

In the April number of *English Studies* (XIX, 1937, pp. 69-71) Professor Jespersen rejects my theory of the change of Mi(ddle) E(nglish) spirants [f, þ] and [s], given in my contribution to the *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Phonetic Sciences* (1936). Being rather afraid that his remarks as to the phonemic character of my explanation may be conducive to misconceptions, I believe that it will not be immodest on my part to meet Prof. Jespersen's objections to my account of the development of these spirants and to show what I think to be the weaknesses of his Vernerian theory. This is especially necessary after his partial acceptance of phonemic principles which comes to the fore in some of his papers in *Linguistica*.

As I tried to show in my paper at some length, the change of the spirants in such words as *of*, *is*, *was*, *his*, *with*, *that*, etc., was brought about as an inevitable consequence of the phonemic mutation of the Early MiE spirant phonemes < f, þ > and < s >. By this process the sounds [v, ð] and [z], which had been the secondary "variants" of the spirant phonemes¹ up to the time of the loss of the final *-e*, changed into independent phonemes capable of differentiating one word from another (e.g. *lēf* "leaf" — *lēv(e)* "to leave"). Owing to this mutation the unstressed words, in which the spirants evidently had a double pronunciation according to the neighbouring sounds of the preceding or the following word (e.g. *at þe* — *in ðe*, *of sones* — *of douhteres*, *is to* — *is doing*) in Early Middle English, had to adopt either the voiced, or the unvoiced spirant after some time of vacillation, because the regular alternation of phonemes dependent on syntagmatical factors would have been utterly unusual in the language (cf. pp. 63-64). This simple explanation of the phonetic changes in the latter half of the 14th century has no stamp of artificiality and there is not a single instance of native words² either in Jespersen's older treatises or in his fullest treatment in *Linguistica* which could be adduced as contradictory to my theory. It has nothing to do with Verner's Law. The formulation of conditions under which the secondary variants³ of MiE spirant phonemes occurred in unstressed, mostly monosyllabic,⁴ words before the phonologization of their voice, cannot be thought of as implying "half-hearted concession" to the Vernerian theory. I do recognize fully the influence of stress in such words as *of off*, *wið wiðout wiðal with*,

¹ The mechanical regulation of the voice of the spirant phonemes *f*, *þ*, *s* in Old and Middle English — voiced between voiced sounds, voiceless in other positions — took place within the limits of the morpheme. After prefixes and in compounds the initial spirant was voiceless, cf. *besēcan*, *andswarian*, *ealswā*, *wynsum*.

² As to the phonemic value of *s* between voiced sounds in French loans before the phonologization of the voice of spirants in native words, see my paper, p. 62. — The geminated *ff*, *þþ*, *ss* between vowels does not speak in favour of the functional value of the voice of OE spirants, because the corresponding voiced sounds did not occur in the language.

³ In Southern English dialects the relation of the variants was reversed: the primary variants of the spirant phonemes were voiced sounds and the secondary ones voiceless. As to the terms "primary" and "secondary variant" see *Projet de terminologie phonologique standardisée* in *Travaux* IV, reprinted in my *Phonological Analysis of Present-day Standard English*, pp. 176, etc.

⁴ Cf. difference in the pronunciation of the protonic *Mrs* [misiz] and the full stressed *mistress* [mistris]. *Miss*, which has only [s], was formed by clipping in Modern English.

herewith, as also, but I do not hold, as Professor Jespersen does, that any voicing of spirants in unstressed position by Verner's Law took place in Modern English, because the voiced sounds had existed in those words as early as the latter half of the fourteenth century as secondary variants of the spirant phonemes. In stressed words these phonemes were always pronounced voiceless both in initial and final positions, and consequently unsounded spirants appear in such M(odern) E(nglish) words as *Christmas, Lammas, Essex, Wessex, bodice, lawless, witness, sheriff*, which cannot be accounted for by the operation of Verner's Law.

As a phonologist, I am in perfect agreement with the general principle implied in Jespersen's theory that any phonetic change which refers to a special quality of a given phoneme, e.g. to the spirant element, must also apply to all other phonemes that possess the same relevant quality. If it does not, the formulation of the sound law is false. Verner's Law in Germanic by which <f, þ> and <χ> were sounded,⁵ affected also the phoneme <s> which became [z] after unstressed vowels in spite of the fact that there was no phoneme z in Primitive Germanic before the shifting of stress.⁶ It is evident, therefore, that the law applied to Germanic sounds as spirants, and its formulation is unquestionably correct. If Verner's Law had really operated in Modern English, as Prof. Jespersen holds, we could expect that all English spirants should have been sounded after weak vowels. This is evidently not the case, because MiE *f* has not been affected by the change, and we must conclude therefore that the Vernerian theory does not apply. Prof. Jespersen explains, of course, the retention of *f* in English by saying that "this is evidently connected with the fact that at the time when the voicing took place in the other instances, the voiced sound corresponding to *f*, namely *ʒ*, was not found as an independent phoneme in the language, but existed only in the group *dʒ*", but how does he account for the change of Primitive Germanic [s] into [z] which also was not a phoneme at the time of the voicing? Jespersen's reasoning is not consequential and "purely phonological" as he thinks it to be, on this point. My theory cannot, of course, offer an explanation of the transition of *tf* into *dʒ*, which occurs after the unstressed *i* in final syllables as well as in the isolated instance *ajar*⁷, but this is hardly "an easy way of getting rid of inconvenient facts", because both MiE *tf* and *dʒ* capable — as phonemes — of distinguishing words, do not come within the scope of the theory at all. This change must be regarded as an isolated problem which has nothing to do with the phoneme development of the spirants *f*, *þ* and *s*.⁸

There is another weak point of general interest for phonologists in Prof.

⁵ The voice of Germanic spirants *f*, *þ*, *χ* was phonemic, that of stops without functional value.

⁶ [z] was a variant of <s> before the dephonologization of Germanic stress, as its occurrence was mechanically regulated, before the shifting of stress took place.

⁷ The change is also instanced, as Prof. Jespersen points out in *Linguistica* (p. 371) at the beginning of one or two words and "independently of our formula, thus independently of stress" in a number of words of "more or less clearly onomatopoeic character".

⁸ Another inconsequence may be seen from the phonemic viewpoint in Jespersen's supposition that final *f* changed into *dʒ* "in some cases" by Verner's Law. Even by admitting that "the existence of the common suffix *-age*, pronounced [idʒ] as in *passage*, has been a concurrent (my italics) cause of the change in such words", he does not explain why the cause which was responsible, according to his hypothesis, for the retention of *f* in other words, did not function in these cases.

Jespersen's theory. As I pointed out in a paper written in Czech, Verner's Law in Primitive Germanic was a "neutralization" of the voice of the spirant phonemes f/β , p/β and χ/γ after an unstressed vowel (+ a consonant); that is to say, the voice of the spirants was dephonologized in this special position, so that it ceased to be their distinctive quality, whereas in other positions it continued to be capable of differentiating phonemes. Neutralization is a well-known concept in modern linguistics and numerous examples may be easily found in Prince Trubetzkoy's papers in the fourth and sixth volumes of *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*. Now I hold that no exceptions of functional character from neutralization are possible by way of morphological analogy so long as neutralization is not discarded by another phonemic law in the development of a language.⁹ Thus the voice neutralization of consonants at the end of words in Czech (e.g. *let* "flying" = *led* "ice") cannot be discarded by analogy with the inflected forms of the same word, even if representing ten different modifications as against one (cf. gen. pl. *ryb* [rip] "of fishes" — *ryba* [riba] "fish", nom. sing.; *rybu*, acc. sing.; *ryby*, gen. sing. and nom. acc. pl., etc.). Similarly Verner's Law, which was, as is said above, the neutralization of the voice of spirants, could not be crossed by any analogy-formation and it must have been only after the Germanic shifting of stress, by which the neutralization was obliterated, that analogical forms of the OE. type *miþon* (for **midon*) began to come into existence.¹⁰ If we are, therefore, aware of the fact that on the one hand the Vernerian theory for Modern English has to account for a great many exceptions as due to analogy-formation at the very time of its operation, and on the other hand that there was neither shifting of stress nor any other phonemic mutation which could be regarded as responsible for the obliteration of the voice neutralization of spirants in 17th-century English, we must arrive at the logical conclusion that Verner's Law cannot be held to be responsible for the development of ME spirants.

With the exception of "the obsolete forms of some compounds of *-wife*: *hussive*, *goodive*", which I did not mention in my paper, because they are evidently irrelevant to the discussion of the problem owing to the probability of analogy-formation,¹¹ all other objections of Prof. Jespersen against my theory refer to my explanation of the voicing of [s] (1) in the ending *-es* after hisses [s, z, ʃ, dʒ] and (2) in words of foreign origin. As to the first point, I may remind the readers of my paper that the change of the verbal

⁹ This also applies to the variants of the same phoneme. Thus [ŋ] in Czech and other languages where it is a variant of the phoneme < n >, cannot be discarded by [n] through morphological analogy, and vice versa. Such analogies as **Dán* (for *Dán*) on the analogy of *Dánka* [da:ŋka] "Danish lady" are therefore impossible (Cf. my paper in *Slovo a slovesnost*, II, 221-222). In other words, the number of phonemes — just as well as the number of relevant positions of phonemes — can neither increase nor decrease in any language by means of analogy-formation. It is always due to phonemic mutations.

¹⁰ It is evident that phonemics is a very important step in the progress of historical grammar, because (1) it is able to bring two or more subsequent sound laws into a causal functional nexus and to state exactly the time when and how a phonemic law is discarded by another, and (2) it sets limits to the misuse of analogy for the explanation of unpleasant exceptions.

¹¹ *hussive* (for *hussif*) — *hussives*. As to *goodive*, Jespersen says: "I have no quotation for *goodive*". [f] in *sheriff* "may be due to analogy on account of the numerous words with *v* in the plural and *f* in the singular" (*Linguistica*, p. 359). — The French suffix *-if(f)* was supplanted by the Latin *-ive* with the exception of old French law-terms, which have kept *-iff*.

ending [-is] into [iz] after hisses was accounted for as probably due to (1) the tendency of the language to conform the verbal ending of the present tense [-s, -z, -is] wholly to that of the weak preterite [-t, -d, -id] and (2) to analogy with monosyllabic forms (e.g. *is*, *has*), where [z] occurred in conformity with my theory. Prof. Jespersen, who mentions only (1) in his rejoinder, regards my explanation as requiring "not a little ingenuity" and rejects it as psychologically improbable. I fail to see the cogency of his reasoning. Even if it were admitted that the conditions of the tripartition in *laughed*, *loved*, *wanted* "were different from the parallel one in *laughs*, *loves*, *passes* ("in one case [id] after a dental stop, in the other [iz] after a hiss") — in spite of the fact that the same vowel in both [is] and [id] preceded the final consonants — the influence of the ending of the preterite on that of the present would not be utterly improbable. Apart from this, [-iz] for the older [-is] may be explained as a product of analogy with [z] in *loves* (*luvz* from *luvis*), by the assimilation of [s] to the preceding voiced sounds. This explanation may also apply to the nominal use of the ending -es in the genitive and plural of substantives. The homophonous character of innumerable plurals and genitives with the verbal forms in -es cannot be denied to be an important factor in this change. The relevant feature differentiating the third person singular [luvz] from the substantival plural [luvz] and the genitive [luvz] is felt to be only a different position of the word in the sentence, so that the nominal ending [is] after hisses may have been supplanted by the verbal suffix [-iz] even in this way. [z] in *his* may have also contributed to the voicing of s in the genitive ending -es and thus may have influenced even the plural genitive forms.¹²

It is in noteworthy conformity with the character of this explanation that the suffix hiss lost its voice when it became dissociated from the meaning of the plural or the genitive, irrespective of the position of stress, cf. *bodice* : *bodies*, *trace* : *traits*, *bellowses* : *bellows*, *summonses*; *else*, *since*; and vice versa, became voiced when it was felt as a plural ending, cf. *riches* (Lat. *divitiae*), *alms*. Jespersen's explanation of the transition of s > z by the voice neutralization of the spirant is contradicted by the occurrence of both [s] and [z] in the place of the supposed neutralization (e.g. *bodice* : *bodies*) and does not account for the different treatment of [ks] at the end of words, where it did not change into [gz] after an unstressed vowel (cf. *Wessex*, *Essex*, etc.) as according to his theory it did medially.

As to the French and Latin words which supplied so many instances of the change of [s] into [z] by Verner's Law, I tried to show in my paper that in most cases we have to do here with the pronunciation of Latin letters s, x in Old French, and not with the organic changes of spoken sounds. This applies especially to the pronunciation of x in the prefix *ex-*, which characterized the words as distinctly Latin. Owing to the fact that this letter was regarded as a single consonant,¹³ it is natural to conclude that

¹² On this occasion we may mention the Early MiE rearrangement of the dental suffixes of the weak preterite by the transition of OE -de into -te after the phonemes which were not members of voice correlation, namely f [v], r, l, m, n, s [z], e.g. *læfde* [le:vde] > *lefte*; *los(e)de* > *loste*. The use of -de (after vowels and b, d, g) and -te (after other sounds) in Early MiE was not fixed, of course, automatically by the final stem sound as is the case in ME, where [-t, -d, -id] are used, within the limits of morphology, with absolute regularity comparable to that of "vocal harmony" in Turkish.

¹³ Cf. the position of stress in *ataxy* (beside *a'taxy*).

the origin of the Modern French pronunciation [gz] goes back, just as that of [z] in the prefixes *trans-* and *dis-* before vowels and the letter *h*, to the Old French period. We are, of course, imperfectly informed of the pronunciation of Latin in medieval France and England, but the above conclusion has every appearance of probability and seems to be indirectly supported by the spelling *x* in purely French words, such as *dix*, *deux*, which had *x* for *z* in liaison (cf. *dix ans*) and by the English pronunciation of the initial *x*, cf. *Xerxes* [z-] which evidently goes back to MiE *gz*. I have not found any contradictory statements to my reasoning in Thurot's book quoted by Prof. Jespersen in his paper in *English Studies*, and I do not therefore see any definite guarantee for his supposition that *gz* was non-existent in the Old French pronunciation of the prefix *ex-*. As to the phonemic development of [gz] in English literary words borrowed from French, we must bear in mind that the voice of the spirant was not phonemic and therefore dependent on the preceding [g], so that MiE [ks] was differentiated from [gz] phonemically by the presence, or absence, of the voice of the stop. In view of the fact that [gz] did not exist in native words (in which only [ks] was represented after stressed vowels) and that *ex-*, like other prefixes borrowed from Old French, was unstressed in MiE, we are entitled to surmise that written *x* was substituted in MiE as [ks] after, and [gz] before, a stressed vowel. There was certainly a good deal of vacillation in the actual pronunciation of *x* in learned Latin words by educated people who spoke two or three languages, but the association of [gz] with the following stressed vowels is manifest, and this was undoubtedly the cause of the later pronunciation [gz] for *x* in such words as *Alexander*, *anxiety*, *luxurious*, which never had [gz] in the French pronunciation of Latin. The question of how "much phonetic consciousness in ordinary speakers" is presupposed by this theory may be dismissed from this discussion, because these words were probably used by learned people and did not belong to the vocabulary of ordinary speakers.¹⁴

Nor are foreign words containing [z] for written *s* (*ss*) between voiced sounds and in final position reliable witnesses in favour of Prof. Jespersen's formula, because there are a great many exceptions where stress is of no consequence for the pronunciation of the spirant. As he mentions himself, the change is not evidenced by words in *-ess*, e.g. *duchess*, *mistress*, in *purchase*, *Paris*, *assist*, *assizes*, etc., whereas in the ending *-ous* and in *treatise*, *purpose*, *promise*, *practise* [z] is found only "here and there in old phoneticians or in dialects" (*Linguistica*, p. 363) and in others, such as *absorb*, *absurd*, *persistent*, *Missouri*, the *z* pronunciation "has not prevailed completely." The old and more popular words, e.g. *resemble*, *resent*,¹⁵ *possess*, *dissolve*, *discern*, *absolve*, *observe* and *dessert*, in which French has [s], seem to support Prof. Jespersen's theory, but even here [z] cannot be definitely regarded as a result of the operation of Verner's Law, because it may have been due to the tendency of the language to have [z] medially

¹⁴ The substitution of foreign phonemes and unusual phonemic groups is probably a more conscious linguistic process than other changes. Thus OF [ʃ] may have been consciously replaced by [tʃ] in the new loans of Late Middle English words long after the OF change of [tʃ] into [ʃ].

¹⁵ I am grateful to Prof. Jespersen for pointing out that *discern* and *design*, which inadvertently slipped among the examples given in my paper, had [s] in Old French as they have in the modern language.

between voiced sounds (cf. also *palsy*, *frenzy*, *quinsy* as against literary words *apostasy*, *heresy*) and may have existed therefore as a variant of the phoneme <s> as early as the 14th century.¹⁶ *Puzel* from French *pucelle* probably always had the stress on the first syllable in English. The Vernerian theory is also contradicted by the fact stated by Prof. Jespersen himself in *Linguistica* (pp. 366-367) that words spelt with (s)c,¹⁷ or even ss, did not generally change [s] into [z], e.g. *deceive*, *receive*, *precise*, *descend*, *disciple*, *assail*, *medicine*, *sincere*, *menace*, *notice*, etc. In *trans-* and *dis-* before vowels [z] is evidently due to the Old French pronunciation [z] for written s (e.g. *transaction*, *désagrée*r) before vowels, and [s] in some English words is satisfactorily explained by the speaker's consciousness of the morphological complexity of these mostly literary words. In Greek words s has been pronounced voiceless even between vowels since the revival of classical studies, and this was also a concurrent cause — in addition to the unstable spelling, the wavering morphological feeling of speakers, the correspondence of [z] in some Latin words to [s] in words borrowed from French, and vice versa, and new analogy-formations — which may be supposed to have led to the vacillation between [s] and [z]. — Not a single instance of the change of f into v by Verner's Law in French and Latin words between vowels can be quoted by Prof. Jespersen (cf. *affect*, *effect*, etc.).

To conclude. After what has been said, we are entitled to state that the Vernerian theory cannot be applied to the explanation of the changes of ME spirants. It is the structural point of view which conclusively proves its untenability.

Prague.

B. TRNKA.

Case in English

(Supplementary Note)

F. G. Cassidy's note on "Case in Modern English", appearing in *Language* (13, 240) a few months after my note in *E. S.* (XIX, 22), makes similar criticisms of Jespersen's treatment of the question; though if the writer had known Hjelmslev's work he would probably have laid less stress on the (only too obvious) differences of formal expression which separate morphemes with inflexional formatives from the positional types.

¹⁶ Is [z] in these words associated with the following stressed vowel (as is the case with [gz] for x), and is [s] in the endings *-sity*, *-sive*, *-sory*, in which French (and possibly Latin in the pronunciation of the English) had [z] after a vowel, due to association with the preceding stress? This is, however, hypothetical. [s] in *-osity*, *-usive*, *-usory*, etc., may be explained by analogy with [s] after a consonant, e.g. *density*, *responsory*. — [z] in *series* is probably due to the identical form of the singular and plural.

¹⁷ Jespersen's suggestion of the probable existence of a special MiE sibilant phoneme for written c in loan-words is contradicted by the frequent spelling of s for c, and vice versa, in both the 14th and 15th centuries.

and more stress on their difference in value; whereas the cases of Latin function within the archimorphemes of singular and plural the English positional types form no series of correlative pairs with another series of positional morphemes; which is admittedly also true of the inflectional types of e.g. Finnish, where case- and number-morphemes (with certain exceptions) have distinct formatives. Here however these morphemes themselves may form correlative pairs (illative : allative :: inessive : adessive, etc.) and this may also be so with the English types, partly following the scheme applied to the cases by Jakobson (*Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre* TCLP vi 240 ff.):

	Personal	Impersonal
Voll-	Subjective	Objective (Acc.)
Rand-	Receptive (Dat.)	Predicative

The "full" morphemes Subj. and Obj. are expressed by position before and after the verb, the Dat. and Pred. by position before and after the Acc., respectively; though Dat. and Pred. subs. cannot both be expressed by position relative to the same Acc.; Hjelmslev's translative is a syncretism of Acc. and Pred., as he has suggested to the writer in a letter.

Skalička's article "K otázkám fonologických protikladů" in *Listy filologické* (LXIII, 133-139) postulates a proportion *fonologický element* : *foném* :: *séma* : *morfém*, which is not dissimilar to that proposed in *E. S.* XIX, 205, though it must be remembered that for Skalička morpheme means formative, whereas under *signifiant* is to be understood the association of formal type (e.g. Gen. Plur.) with formative (Latin *-um*, *-rum*), abstraction made of meaning, as the functional phoneme is an association of functional element with its "functions", but with exclusion of acoustic idea. To the actual formative must correspond not the phoneme, but the phonemic function.

Oxford.

C. E. BAZELL.

In Memoriam L. F. Choisy

Louis-Frédéric Choisy, who died last August, was eighteen years professor of English at the University of Geneva, where he had succeeded Emile Redard. Choisy's work as an English scholar was only part of his literary output. His doctor's thesis, *Alfred Tennyson, son spiritualisme, sa personnalité morale* (Genève & Paris, 1912), contains a judicious summary of the poet's life and, in convenient form, a systematic survey of his religious and philosophical outlook. In 1924, Choisy gave a centenary article on *Byron aux bords du Léman* to a local review. Three years later, he published a short book on *Oscar Wilde* (Paris, Perrin, 1927) which is made up of biographical chapters and of summaries or analyses of Wilde's chief poems, plays and essays, accompanied by some critical comments. The biographical chapters are the best portions of the little book: Choisy has attempted to draw an unbiassed picture of the man and his career, and, owing to his Christian charity and his lightness of touch, has largely succeeded. He then devoted much ungrateful labour to the publication of notes on Shakespeare left by a friend of his. These notes, as Choisy,

though not a Shakespearean scholar, certainly realized, did not deserve to be printed. But he considered it his duty to carry out a promise to a dying friend, and the book came out in due time (*Les passages obscurs de Shakespeare traduits et expliqués par Jean Keser revus et complétés par L. F. Choisy*, Genève et Paris, 1931). Much more important than either his *Wilde* or his *Tennyson* is Choisy's *Sainte-Beuve, l'homme et le poète* (Paris, 1921) which has already run through five editions, and fully deserves its success as the best possible introduction to the life and the character of the great French critic. Choisy also wrote two novels and a book on *Richard Wagner* (Paris, 1933). By the few who have known him, he will be remembered as a modest unassuming gentleman with delicate tastes, a fine moral nature and many of the qualities of a sincere Christian.

Lausanne.

G. BONNARD.

Essays and Studies. In 1938 two scholars of international repute in the field of English studies will be presented with a volume of essays in recognition of their work and of their distinguished tenure of Chairs of English Literature, namely Sir Herbert Grierson, Professor Emeritus at the University of Edinburgh, and Professor Louis Cazamian, of the Sorbonne.

Seventeenth-Century Studies presented to Sir Herbert Grierson will be published by the Clarendon Press, and will be issued to subscribers at the price of 15s., post free; the price to non-subscribers on publication will be £1 1s.¹ The list of contents includes contributors from Great Britain, Germany, France and other countries. Holland, where an honorary degree on the occasion of the Vondel celebrations was recently conferred upon Sir Herbert by the University of Amsterdam, will be represented by an introductory poem by Mr. P. C. Boutens, and by an article on *Joost van den Vondel* by Prof. A. J. Barnouw, of Columbia University, New York. Prof. Mario Praz, of Rome, will contribute an article on *Milton and Poussin*.

In October, on the completion of thirty years' teaching at the Sorbonne, Professor Cazamian will be presented with a collected edition, entitled *Essais en Deux Langues*, of about two dozen articles contributed by him at various times to divers periodicals, French, American, English and Dutch. The papers will be arranged in four groups: I. *Etudes de Méthode et de Théorie*; II. *Le Problème de l'Humour*; III. *Romantisme, Symbolisme et Poésie*; IV. *Les Lettres et la Vie*. The *Essais* are being published under the auspices of a Committee of Anglicists, French and foreign, on which *English Studies* is represented by Prof. Bernhard Fehr, of Zürich, and Prof. R. W. Zandvoort, of Groningen. The volume will be published by the Librairie Henri Didier, 4, rue de la Sorbonne, Paris (V), and will be issued to subscribers at the price of 35 francs ('édition ordinaire') or 50 francs ('édition sur pur fil').

Reviews

Englische Fürstenspiegel vom Policraticus Johannis von Salisbury bis zum Basilikon Doron König Jakobs I. Von WILHELM KLEINEKE. (Studien zur englischen Philologie herausgegeben von L. Morsbach und H. O. Wilde, XC) vii + 223 pp. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer. 1937. RM. 9.—.

If the 'Mirror of Princes' is to be taken as a literary genre of its own, as certainly it may, no other national literature of Europe calls sooner for a treatment of the subject as a whole than English literature, works in Latin included, of course. This labour is performed here in a book, at the same time succinct and full of information, which to workers in the field of political theory leaves little to be desired. The author gives first some twenty pages of general introduction, followed by a treatment, in chronological order, of all the specimens representing the genre in English literature within the limits of time expressed in the title. It is not so much a complete analysis which is given of each work in succession as a judicious attempt to characterize its scope and nature. The series opens with the most famous and important of all, John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. Next to this comes the *Liber de Principis Instructione* of Giraldus Cambrensis, whose work we would willingly have spared for the lost one reported to have been written by Robert Grosseteste. Among the numerous authors of later treatises Wycliffe stands out with his *De Officio Regis*, Hoccleve with a *Regiment of Princes*. Account is also taken of such authors as, without writing a specific Mirror of Princes, yet occasionally enlarge upon the duties of a king, as is the case with Chaucer, Langland and Gower. In the fifteenth century the writings of Sir John Fortescue take the largest place, though they no longer fully answer to the character of a Mirror of Princes proper. The genre is revived in a way by the inspiration of Humanism in the writings of Sir Thomas Elyot in the sixteenth century. The *Basilikon Doron* of James the First closes the history of the genre in more than one respect, leading as it does from the rather academic speculations on a more or less theological theme to the actual beginnings of the great constitutional conflict in English history.

The well-considered judgment on each of the treatises, together with the careful investigation of their origin and the circumstances of their composition, will no doubt render great service to the study of an important chapter of historical learning. Still, the chief merit of Herr Kleineke's book would seem to reside in the brief and excellent introduction, in which he describes the nature and the gradual change of the Mirror of Princes as a literary concept. Starting from a purely theological and ethical point of view which hardly pays any attention to the material needs or national interests of a specific kingdom, the Mirror is at first merely a doctrine of personal virtue in the Prince, who is so entirely regarded as incorporating in his person all that modern speech calls the State, that his moral shortcomings or excellence suffice to explain either the downfall or the welfare of his country. These doctrines of royal virtue are largely dependent on classical tradition. Gradually positive notions of practical policy make their way into the theory of princely virtue. The line between the Mirror

of Princes in the strict sense and the political pamphlet is not always to be drawn clearly. To the last phase of this mainly mediaeval genre the fundamental conception remains that perfect political order and happiness are attainable on earth, if only princes will be good. It is highly significant that not before Thomas More is the scene of such perfection shifted into Utopia.

One remark falling a little outside a review of the book as a product of historical research remains to be made. Whenever the author comes to speak of the ethical convictions lying at the base of all mediaeval political theory, and of the conflict of these principles with considerations of material or national utility, he seems to envisage the mediaeval view-point as merely antiquated ballast lingering on in times when political thinking really had outgrown such conceptions. It is necessary to quote some passages in the original text to make this clear. On p. 144 we read, concerning the authors of these treatises in general towards the end of the Middle Ages: „Sie lassen sich bei ihren Forderungen leiten vom Gesichtspunkt der staatlichen Notwendigkeit. Und wenn dieser Gesichtspunkt auch noch nicht eigentlich bewusst geworden ist, geschweige denn grundsätzlich als berechtigt anerkannt wird — Entdeckung und grundsätzliche Rechtfertigung des Begriffes der Staatsraison blieben der Renaissance vorbehalten — so liegt doch schon darin, dass er praktisch entscheidend oder zum mindesten wesentlich mitbestimmend ist, etwas in die Zukunft Weisendes." Fortescue „stellt die Forderungen seines Werkes noch in einen ethischen Zusammenhang etc." (p. 145, cf. p. 169, 170). Likewise of the author of the *Libelle of Englishe Polycye*: „Die Politik ist für ihn faktisch autonom. Grundsätzlich würde er sich gewiss gegen den Gedanken, dass die Politik nur ihre eigene Gesetzlichkeit kennt, gesträubt haben" (p. 181/2). This respect for the ethical foundations of State and government holds good as well of Sir Thomas Elyot in the sixteenth century (p. 193).

It is well known that the acceptance of tenets concerning the a-moral nature of all policy has been widespread, especially in Germany, for a long time, quite independently of recent political changes. If we are right in concluding from sentences such as those quoted above that the author fully adheres to such a conception of the nature of the political we should like to observe that he ought not to treat these opinions as a general asset of modern knowledge and civilization. It is only in some parts of the civilized world that such opinions may be said to prevail officially and more or less universally. A far larger part of that world all over the globe still holds fervently to the belief in an ethical foundation of political life and conduct, though practice may ever so horribly clash with theory. Should such-like conceptions deserve the appellation of mediaeval, then it is to be hoped that our world may ere long regain the dignity of being called by that name.

Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England. By L. B. WRIGHT. x + 733 pp. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. London: Milford. 1935. \$ 5.00; 22s. 6d.

In proposing to himself the task of analysing and describing the culture of the middle class in Elizabethan England, Mr. Wright found himself faced with many serious difficulties, some of which he has not succeeded in wholly overcoming. While one can accept with complete equanimity his definition of Elizabethan as including the hundred years that lay between her accession and the execution of Charles I, it is more difficult to agree with what he understands by culture. This is of course a very elastic term and an author has every right to determine what he is going to write about; moreover Mr. Wright is astute enough never to venture upon any exact definition of what culture really is, but no reader of his book can long remain unaware that for him, it practically implies everything that he can find out about the middle class. If one merely glances at the chapter headings, it is true all the proper elements that go to make up culture seem to be discussed: education, moral improvement, literary taste, the influence of travel and science and the theatre, the part that religion has to play in moulding a man's character. But when one struggles gamely through his seven hundred pages one finds that he has given us everything from the austere virtues of marriage to commercial tricks, from feminine frailties to the practical value of Arabic; this is one of the reasons why there are seven hundred pages.

After all it is easy to say that this is an error on the right side, that at least one is getting all and more than all that one is paying for; that is true, though the result is very confusing and it is extremely difficult at times to see exactly whither the author is leading his readers. But to the historian, an even more serious problem is created by the fact that Mr. Wright never really can persuade himself to keep to his subject — the middle class. It is, of course, difficult enough to define who are the middle class, it has varied from country to country and from period to period; it probably was varying in England during the hundred years Mr. Wright is discussing, though I doubt if he wholly realises this. It is only fair also to admit that Mr. Wright recognises his difficulty; as he says in his introduction: "The pigeon-holing of society into compartments with descriptive labels like 'middle class' is always unsatisfactory", and he suggests that the middle class in Elizabethan society was a large group "whose pre-occupation was trade and whose intellectual concerns were largely colored by the peculiarities of their place in the social order." The second part of this description does not get one anywhere, because it merely tells one that they were middle class because they were in the middle, and the first part involves Mr. Wright in a whole train of dangerous assumptions that run right through his work and vitiate some, at any rate, of the conclusions to which he comes. It leads him, for example, consciously or unconsciously, to identify middle class, trade and puritanism; this has all sorts of consequences which, to an historian, appear rather unfortunate. The people in the rural areas and the agricultural middle class that were concerned with rural or small town industry are very largely ignored. The fact that trade was the very area where there was the greatest amount of fluidity between the middle and the upper classes is not stressed nearly enough; few readers would guess that a considerable number of Mr.

Wright's middle class merchants were the sons of landowners definitely, according to sixteenth century standards, belonging to the upper class. So also when he is talking of the grammar schools, he is constantly implying that they were wholly middle class in their clientele; this was largely true of London, but it is highly improper to generalise from London, and if one looks at the provincial grammar schools, one can find a good many of their boys drawn from the lower ranks of the upper class. So at the other end of the scale, no proper recognition is given to the lower classes for whom the ephemeral literature that built up what Mr. Wright calls the "popular literary taste" catered to some degree, at any rate, even though many of this class could not read.

The identification of Puritanism with the middle class is even more disastrous. Not even the majority of the middle class were puritan — in implying that they were Mr. Wright is again generalising from London. In addition Puritanism spread far beyond the ranks of the middle class; from this book one might conclude that there were no puritan gentlemen who were interested in moral questions or that non-puritans were not interested in morals at all. So also, though what Mr. Wright has to say about the many guide books to godliness and other works of private devotion is very informative, he is by no means justified in assuming that their consumption was confined to the middle class. And in addition to all this he is every now and then prone to involve himself in the vicious circle that the middle class read virtuous books because they themselves were virtuous and yet were virtuous because they read virtuous books. In fact he stresses overmuch the didactic element which quite rightly he points out occupied a considerable place in the literature of the day (p. 417) and the result is that one cannot help wishing that he showed his middle class man as a somewhat more lovable and human person, that he told us something of what this man read when he was feeling really lewd. Had he done so, this would have been both a better and a truer book.

Yet the author is not wholly consistent in this matter; Puritan thought very commonly attacked anything in favour of woman's emancipation; but this seems to Mr. Wright to be opposed to progress and in order to show that the middle classes were really progressive, he hastens to their defence and denies that the rank and file of the middle class were really Puritan in this matter at all (pp. 506-7). In actual fact his conclusion that middle class influence tended to the progress of woman's freedom in the seventeenth century is a very debatable matter.

Mr. Wright's third great difficulty lies in the material from which he has elected to draw his conclusions. He is obviously a student of literature rather than an historian and he shows an almost pathetic belief in the value of the printed word combined with a typically American idea that what you read constitutes the major evidence of your culture. If one wanted to parody a scientific approach to the analysis of culture, one might say that there were two ways of attacking the question — a qualitative or a quantitative — Mr. Wright chooses the latter. He has collected and catalogued with painstaking care everything that was published by a member of the middle class, for the members of the middle class, or about the members of the middle class. Quotation is piled on quotation, all saying much the same thing. In consequence it is the scaffolding that he shows us rather than the edifice itself, and a scaffolding rarely has much architectural beauty. Mr. Wright is the victim of a system of academic

training only too common in the United States, which lays far too much stress on the accumulation of every atom of data no matter how minute, and far too little on selection and interpretation. Some day he will forget all his quotations and his book lists, throw his card index over the windmill and write a very readable book, discussing what he thinks about the middle class in the seventeenth century and spicing it, I hope, with those touches of humour which are rather lacking in this volume. He has taken too much to heart the precepts that guided his hero — the worthy apprentice — who after all was rather a dull dog and became that even duller dog, the pompous city merchant. He has, in other words, made the mistake of taking the middle class as seriously as they took themselves and in doing so, he has forgotten what one of his writers said: "a Booke growing too bigge in quantitie, is Profitable neither to the minde nor the purse: for that men are now so wise and the world so hard, as they love not to buy pleasure at unreasonable price." (p. 380)

I have devoted so much space to criticism of this work because, if used with care, it has a great deal of value in it. It is obviously the fruit of an enormous amount of labour, the mere list of printed matter consulted is stupendous; the bibliographical data are given with scrupulous care and accuracy; I have noticed only one misprint — Pollard and Redgrave should be A. W. Pollard not A. F. Pollard (p. 671); the book will indeed be a mine of information in which scholars can delve, for there they will find arranged and described under appropriate headings contemporary works, many of which have rarely before received any attention. The section that Mr. Wright devotes to "Handbooks to Improvement" is interesting and important, and the attention which he gives throughout his whole work to the strength of the utilitarian motive in the mentality of the middle class is of very real value, though I think that at times he is tempted to stress it overmuch; this is especially the case in regard to education: no one who realises the grip that the study of Latin still had upon the grammar schools in the early seventeenth century could regard the utilitarian side of the education they provided as a very strong one.

After reading this work one cannot but ask oneself whether the characteristics which Mr. Wright finds in the middle class of the seventeenth century were something inherent in that class as distinct from other classes, or whether they were inherent in that period as distinct from other periods. Mr. Wright has never really dealt with this problem and this is all the more remarkable because as a citizen of the United States he must have noticed how many of these characteristics are still to be observed in the country districts of the Eastern States or in their intellectual offspring, the north middle-west of America. There is still to be found the same belief in the power of diligence and thrift to produce all that man may desire, the same belief in the handbook and the epitome as the golden road to an education; still too often could the very words Mr. Wright uses for the seventeenth century be repeated again to express the scorn of the generation that is now reaching middle age for those who dared to disagree with them: "Because the ways of good morality brought prosperity, the puritanical citizen was more than ever convinced of the goodness of the code to which he subscribed, and he could see only the machinations of Satan in the sneers of scoffing critics who found in the tradesman's ethics merely self-interest and sordid hypocrisy." (p. 186).

Die Lyrik und ihr Publikum im England des XVIII Jahrhunderts. Von VICTOR LANGE. 117 pp. Weimar: Verlag Hermann Bohlaus Nachf. 1935. RM. 4.50.

The title of this book indicates its scope and contents with fair accuracy, and not a great deal need be said, therefore, by way of summary. Put briefly, the author's aim is to trace out the development of the poetical miscellany between the years 1670 and 1780, and so to study the changing taste and interests of the public for which it was designed. Thorough as his investigation is, however, his conclusions break little new ground; on the whole they confirm and substantiate the estimates of the period held by the majority of modern critics and historians. Dr. Lange shows, for instance, that the growing vogue of Dryden in the years immediately following his death was accompanied by a steady increase in the number of his poems which appeared in the successive issues of Tonson's Miscellany, while later in the century, when Pope had assumed the place Dryden had once occupied, the anthology-maker exhibited a tendency to reject the poetry of the latter in favour of the Popeian school of versifiers. Again, the Restoration miscellany included a fair proportion of love lyrics, usually of a light and frivolous type; but in the early eighteenth century, when a new note had been sounded in the literary camp, more serious work was favoured. Bysshe, in his *British Parnassus* (1714), deliberately reacted against what he styled the "filth and rubbish" of many earlier compilations of the type; devotional verses began to appear amongst the lighter pieces; miscellanies of religious verse were even assembled, and Gay, giving directions for the composition of a volume of selections from English poetry, condemned excess of frivolity.

Let all the Muses in the piece conspire,
The lyric bard must strike th'harmonious lyre;
Heroic strains must here and there be found,
And nervous sense be sung in lofty sound;
Let elegy in moving numbers flow,
And fill some pages with melodious woe;
Let not your amorous songs too num'rous prove,
Nor glut thy reader with abundant love.
Satire must interfere, whose pointed rage
May lash the madness of a vicious age.

Again, the miscellanies appearing between 1725 and 1740 show the beginnings of an interest in the poetry of nature, while Dodsley's famous publication, which ran through so many editions before the end of the century, was a sure indication of the coming of the Romantic revival. Dodsley, declares Dr. Lange, was the first anthologist in the modern sense of the word, for not only did he go to infinite trouble in selecting and rejecting (he consulted scholars and men of letters instead of relying merely upon his tastes and preferences), but unlike his predecessors, he set himself to rescue from oblivion some of the more meritorious and promising work of the poets of his own age and those immediately preceding. He it was who first won respect and scholarly recognition for the anthologist. He laid down the principles which others were to follow,

and in this sense he may be regarded as the forerunner of Ward, Lockers-Lampson and Palgrave.

Dr. Lange's treatise is apt to strike one as somewhat prosaic; much of it is occupied in enumerating and describing the contents of various collections of poetry, but that was inevitable. Of course, it has been impossible even to mention by name all the miscellanies which appeared during these years; some hundred and seventy are listed in an appendix, and many more than that were actually published. In the text the author has had to select certain representative volumes for detailed treatment, and on the whole the principle is a sound one, though for the purpose which Dr. Lange had in view the wisdom of laying over-much stress on musical miscellanies is open to question, for more often than not a collection of songs wins its popularity on account of the music rather than the words, and it is rather hazardous, therefore, to base any arguments concerning popular taste upon the evidence afforded by these latter. This, however, does not invalidate Dr. Lange's main thesis, which is amply borne out by his references to other works. There are copious quotations from the books discussed, though it is to be regretted that misprints so frequently occur in them (e.g., on pages 20, 27, 31, and 43, to mention no others); and there is at least one such error in the bibliography; the present writer's *Notes on Eighteenth Century Booksellers and Publishers*, which appeared in *Notes and Queries* in 1931, were supplemented by Sir Ambrose Heal, and not by H. Ambrose, as Dr. Lange has it. Still, these minor slips apart, the book is a competent piece of work, and a good introduction to a subject upon which a great deal still remains to be done.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

The American Democrat. By JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. With an Introduction by H. L. MENCKEN. (Americana Deserta, edited by Bernard De Voto). xx and 184 pp. 8°. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. \$2.50.

The re-publication of Cooper's *American Democrat* marks, in a modest way, a historical epoch. When it first appeared in 1838 "Jacksonian" democracy, the equalitarian spirit of the American frontier, had, in the person of Andrew Jackson, entered the White House and democracy in its extreme form had taken possession of the nation. In 1931, when the reprint appeared, this democracy had run its course and the public that was critical of its results was large enough to encourage a New York publisher to put the book forth. At that time, Cooper's conservative democracy might appear as a corrective to the excesses of the popular kind; today, six years later, it looks like a last hope in the contending seas of authoritarianism that threaten democracy of every kind right and left, above and below.

Cooper, as one of the interesting personalities of the earlier half of American letters, is emerging more and more. The re-publication of his travel-letters from England and France — those from Switzerland are

still in the dust! — has given us the picture of a man infinitely more virile and conversant with realities than his novels would lead one to expect. Like Scott, his prototype and secret rival, he exercised his artistic gifts in the spirit of an eighteenth century gentleman, as an avocation, while his interest in the practical questions of the day, both economic and political, was very strong. The type of art that he adopted in his novels did not permit this side of his nature to appear to any great extent and when he did write from political passion his muse bore no living fruit. The great power of his gifts manifested itself in a comparatively trivial squabble over personal libels in the daily press, occasioned by a still more trivial incident shortly after his return from Europe. By nature and family connections Cooper was autocratically inclined, but his early books show no particular bias. In Europe, however, where he went in 1826, his Americanism became militant and the atmosphere of Metternich aroused in him a democracy that was essentially alien to his nature. Returning home in 1833 he encountered Jacksonism in full force, and his reactions, occasionally made public, brought him into conflict with his own countrymen with a vehemence he had never experienced from the aristocrats of Europe. He was an eighteenth-century Whig, who even in the Europe of the twenties had tasted very little of the new age — he spent only a short time in England! — and his disgust of profanum vulgus contributed its share to his ardor in the libel cases.

Considering the circumstances under which it was written, *The American Democrat* is a surprisingly sane and reasonable exposition of Cooper's conservative views. Very few men in American public life possessed the knowledge of foreign countries and the political insight shown here by Cooper. The style, like the thought, is of the eighteenth century — "Johnsonian", as H. L. Mencken says in his introduction — and Cooper's predilection for the up-raised forefinger, which mars so many of his later novels, is here well applied. Within the world for which they are written, his views are adequate enough; in 1838 the industrial revolution had not yet reached America and trusts were unknown. Hence the sharp distinction between political and social democracy can safely be made; a wealth that adhered to an individual or a family and whose limits remained easily visible from a middle line of general prosperity could offer no danger to society. Thus Cooper's democracy is definitely dated and could not have been much of a help to the later generations even if his own had listened to him. And in our day it is more the general spirit of the book that is valuable than any specific details. But it is a forcefully written book, in its clear, perhaps slightly too explicit style an able presentation of the views of the first generation of American republicans.

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

Das Personalpronomen der 3. Person in spätag. und früh-mittelenglischen Texten. Ein Beitrag zur altenglischen Dialektgeographie. Von BERNHARD GERICKE und WALTER GREUL. Palaestra 193. 90 pp.; 54 pp. Leipzig: Mayer und Müller. 1934. RM. 11.

On the Development of English Verbs from Latin and French Past Participles. By OLE REUTER. Societas Scientiarum Fennica: Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum, VI. 6. 171 pp. Helsingfors: Akademiska Bokhandeln; Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 1934. 53 mk.

The Development of Ablaut in the Strong Verbs of the East Midland Dialects of Middle English. By JAMES FREDERICK RETTGER. Language Dissertations published by the Linguistic Society of America, No. 18. 186 pp. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, for the Society. 1934.

Here are three monographs on the history of English inflexions and word-formation. The uninitiated would hardly guess this to be a subject of international interest, and yet of these three books one is from Germany, one from Finland, and one from America; while the present review is written by an Englishwoman and published in Amsterdam. An interesting and welcome symbol of common concerns.

The first volume really contains two separate monographs, one on the pronouns of the third person in Old English from the time of Alfred, the other on the history of the same pronouns from the late twelfth-century Winteneý *Benedictine Rule* to the middle or end of the thirteenth century (*Genesis and Exodus*). The material, with references, is given separately for each text; general questions of form, dialectal distribution, and etymology are considered subsequently, and a summary of the material is given, with comments on the views of previous writers. It is a full and useful collection of forms, with little that is new in the way of criticism and explanation. The difficulty about the dialectal notes lies in the uncertainty as to the exact provenance of nearly all the texts dealt with. The Early Middle English survey classifies the pronominal forms in five groups: (i) the OE. form retained, apart from normal phonetic development; (ii) a type with inflexional endings borrowed from noun or adjective; (iii) the type *ha, hare, ham* (which both authors explain as due entirely to the influence of the demonstrative *þa* etc., a not altogether acceptable theory); (iv) forms with *þ-* borrowed from the demonstrative; (v) the Scandinavian plural form.

Dr. Reuter's monograph is a study of a special and very common type of word-formation in English, and represents a piece of work well worth doing. The author has used all the available material in the OED., and has collected further evidence from representative ME. texts. The process of developing English verbs from Latin and French Past Participles began

in the first quarter of the thirteenth century with the borrowing of French Past Participles (the Latin ones came later) in the function of Past Participles or participial adjectives. By the middle of the century the native ending *-ed* was being added to these words in these functions (e.g. *concluded*, *confused*) and the addition soon became regular. At the same time present tenses were beginning to be employed, based on the same forms, and Dr. Reuter emphasizes the fact that in many cases present-tense forms are recorded earlier than the P. P. form with *-ed*, though the latter has hitherto usually been considered a necessary intervening type. The borrowed Past Participles in *-t* have a rather different and characteristic history, as the *-t* seems to have been felt by English speakers as equivalent to the native P. P. ending *-t*, and *-ed* is rarely added until the late fifteenth century, Caxton being the first writer to use a large proportion of such forms as *anointed*, *compacted* instead of *anoint*, *compact*.

Most of the verbs formed in this way in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries have survived; the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly the last, were remarkable for the number of new and curious creations, very many of which have long disappeared (e.g. *obstrigillate*, *paratragediate*, *subnex*). Latin verbs of the first conjugation have naturally given rise to most English verbs, and have been responsible for the development of *-ate* into an independent verbal suffix, in use from the fifteenth century onwards. Reuter gives in an Appendix a list of analogically formed verbs in *-ate*. The last chapter ends with a note on the earlier method of making English verbs from Latin — by the dropping of the infinitive ending — and on the conflict of the two methods: e.g. Chaucer's *corrige* and *correct*, Wyclif's *consume* and *consumpt*.

The book is clearly and accurately printed, but would, like the previous one, have been much improved by informative running head-lines.

There has never yet been a full and general survey of the strong verbs in Middle English, though various writers have studied them from the point of view of individual dialects. The most recent of these sectional surveys, that of Dr. Rettger, deals with the strong verbs of nineteen texts 'which recent scholars agree to be of East Midland or Central Midland origin, and which do not show so much dialect mixture that their utility is impaired'. The documents range from the Peterborough Chronicle (it was perhaps rather a mistake to regard this as a unit) to the fifteenth-century Coventry Leet Book (up to 1494). The volume is divided into two parts, the first devoted to those verb forms which represent the normal phonological developments from Old English, or analogical forms which are characteristic of a group of verbs, and the second treating of divergent forms which are restricted to one verb or to a very small number of verbs, also of weak forms of strong verbs, of foreign words which are used as strong verbs in Middle English, and of obsolescent verbs and those of doubtful origin. The first section is on the whole the more interesting. The author shows that while Classes I, VI and VII for the most part keep their distinctive grades and show little tendency to become confused with other classes (except for some verbs of Class VI), Classes II, III, IV and V do exhibit certain trends in the same direction, the most important of which is the spread of the vowel *ō* as a Preterite and Past Participle type. Dr. Rettger

examines the theories of other writers, most of whom have studied this point in relation to individual verbs, and not to a considerable group, and comes to the conclusion that the new o-forms are 'the result of a natural psychological drift toward simplification, and consisted in analogical leveling in favor of ablaut-types which, because oftenest heard or most distinctive, had come to have emphatic suggestive value'. It is the simplest and most obvious explanation, provided that it is adopted with due regard for the necessity of finding the contacts or 'bridges' between the verb-classes and verb-forms which could have brought about such analogical generalization, and there seems to be little against it.

It is easy, in considering a work of this kind, to suggest a number of alternate (and in some cases more probable) explanations of certain details (e.g. the o-forms of *come*, p. 132; the *eald*-forms of p. 124; the e-forms for *i*, p. 22); many of the notes might well have been expanded, and there are occasional apparently contradictory statements. But the study is a most useful one, and we are glad to have a new contribution to the literature of a fascinating subject.

London.

MARY S. SERJEANTSON.

Bernard Shaw's Phonetics. By JOSEPH SAXE. A Comparative Study of Cockney Sound Changes. 86 pp. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard; London: Allen & Unwin. 1936. 6 Danish Crowns.

There are few topics about which G. B. S. has never expressed his opinion, a fact which supplies us with innumerable subjects for dissertations. "B. Shaw and Phonetics" would be one of them. We know that he is interested in this science, that he knew Sweet, whom we recognize in Prof. Higgins (*Pygmalion*). He is a member of the B.B.C. Advisory Committee on Spoken English. The present reviewer remembers him to have taken the chair, many years ago, at a lecture by Daniel Jones. Thus the title of this book is not surprising. The surprises begin with the subtitle, which leads us to expect a different study altogether. In fact the author tells us in the introduction that his object is to show the change of Cockney sounds in the second part of the 19th century. He has based his investigation on the printed rendering of Cockney in *Punch* for what he calls Early Cockney and — rather a slender link with the main title — in Shaw's plays for Late Cockney.

There are two sections: I. Counterfeit Vulgarisms, II. Genuine Vulgarisms, of which — second surprise — only the latter is about Cockney. The former is about all those words, found both in *Punch* and in Shaw, whose queer spelling is not the orthographic rendering of a Cockney pronunciation, but expresses mere playfulness; e.g. diphycult, phootmin, in-know-scent, C = see, 4 = for etc. All this has nothing to do with either phonetics or Cockney but, together with other playful devices, such

as the typographical anomalies of *Alice in Wonderland*, might constitute a chapter in a book on English humour. Nor is Shaw's preference for spacing rather than italicising worth discussing. If the former had been the current typographical device in England, he would probably fancy the latter.

In the second part the actual Cockney passages in *Punch* and in Shaw are examined. The conclusion which the author arrives at is, that Cockney has not changed very much in the second part of the 19th century: contractions and excrescences are common to both periods. The chief innovations in Shaw's rendering of Cockney, the vowel shifts $ei > ai$, $ou > au$ etc., are not looked upon as typical Cockney features, as "most of them are fast becoming Londonisms". Here the chief drawback of this study reveals itself: it is based exclusively on the two sources. A scientific investigation of a dialect is of course chiefly dependent on texts. But in the case of a living idiom, like Late Cockney, direct observation cannot be dispensed with. It is a further source of information, occasionally a corrective. If the author had listened to the actual speech of Londoners he would not have made light of the diphthongs. He would also have heard that fairly educated people, though often using what their elders call cockneyfied vowels, do not even to-day go to the length of saying "tiking a book and altering the dite" (p. 71). — There is another point that calls for a remark. It is stated (p. 74, 76) that the Late Cockney pronunciation of St. E. au (house) is $a:$, of St. E. ai (bite) ɔ , orig. ɔi . This assertion, based solely on texts, is probably not quite accurate. It certainly does not hold good for Present-day Speech. St. E. au is $a:$ in certain words (e.g. $(h)a:$, $\text{ə}ba:t$), but the most common Cockney pronunciation is now æu or ɛu (e.g. $d\text{æ}un$, $n\text{æ}u$). St. E. ai is commonly ai or ɔi (e.g. $laik$, mai), before l also $\alpha:$ ($t\text{f}\alpha:ld$), but not ɔ .

A few miscellaneous remarks: p. 52/53 $wenzdi$, with loss of the first d is good Standard English. The dropping of a consonant is also admissible in $neks(t)$, $fren(d)z$. — p. 36, 59, $g\text{ɔ}:d$, $d\text{ɔ}:g$, $k\text{ɔ}:fi$ are vulgar. The ɔ of these words may be lengthened, but not made closer. — p. 65 The author has misunderstood the characterisation of Alexander Mill's pronunciation in *Candida* (Tauchnitz p. 116): "He has a habit of speaking with his lips carefully closed a full half inch from each corner for the sake of a finicking articulation and a set of horribly corrupt vowels, notably ow for o , this being his chief means of bringing Oxford refinement to bear on Hackney vulgarity". Shaw does not want to suggest that the so-called Oxford accent resembles Cockney: although, as it happens, there is to-day one Cockney o — not the commonest — which is very much like over-refined o , namely œu . But the commonest Cockney form is au .

Basel.

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A Middle English Noun *lede*

The following nouns *led(e)* are recorded in OED: 1) *led* (OE *lead*) 'lead', the metal; 2) *lede* (a shortened form of ME *lēden*, OE *læden*, cf. Lat. *latinum*) 'speech, utterance'; 3) *lede* (OE *lēod* fem. 'nation, people' and OE *lēode* plur. 'men, people'), 'people, nation, land'; 4) *led* (OE *lēod* 'man') 'man, person'; 5) *led(e)* (from *lede* vb.) 'the action of the verb lead; leading, direction, guidance'.

In Thomas Castelford's *Chronicle*, a Northern text still unprinted and only extant in the Göttingen Library Codex MS. Hist. 740, there is a noun *lede* which cannot be explained merely by means of the information given in OED. This word is not mentioned in Stratmann-Bradley, *A Middle English Dictionary* nor in Mätzner, *Altenglisches Wörterbuch*. Kaluza, in his glossary on *Cursor Mundi*, refers to one of its senses, adding a question mark to the translation. I quote below a collection of examples from Thom. Cast. of this *lede*, arranging them in groups according to the main senses of the word.¹

A

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| <p>1. And þe contre quar britons duellde
Yitte þe cristendum pai helde.
Þe <i>lede</i> pai helde als wise and yiape
Þai had of eleuther þe pape.
In þat troght þai had lifed lang.
It ceste ne falde neuer þam amang.
v. 24703 fol. 138b col. 2 l. 18.</p> | <p>2. Thridde alexandre þe pape in dede
Confermede þar ordre and þar <i>lede</i>,
Againes þe paighiens armes to bere
Þat cristen folk euer onrinnes to dere.
fol. 218b col. 2 l. 11.</p> |
|--|--|

In the first of these two examples the word *lede* at the first glance seems to be equivalent to *troght* 'faith, belief, creed'. Cf. also the variation of the passage some lines further on: *In þat ilke troght to dur and lifen þe pape eleuther had þam gifen*, v. 24783 fol. 139a col. 2 l. 9. To a medieval writer, however, the belief or creed of a Christian community was something intimately connected with the system of usages and practices observed by such a community. The '*lede* that the Britons held' was evidently such a system, which, as appears from the 100 verses or so following, was embodied in an ecclesiastical and clerical organization entirely isolated from the rest of the English church. In this particular context we may translate *lede*

¹ The examples are provided with line-numbering in so far as they are included in the portions of the text to be edited by the present writer. *The Historia Regum Britanniae* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, of which Thom. Cast. is in part a translation, is quoted from Acton Griscom's edition, 1929. Other works quoted in this article are: W. Braune, *Ahd. Gram.*, 1921; E. Ekwall, *Suffixet ja i senare leden af sammansatta substantiv*, Uppsala universitets årsskrift, 1904; R. Jordan, *Handb. der mittelleng. Gram.*, 1925; F. Kluge, *Nominale Stammbildungslehre*, 1926; K. Luick, *Hist. Gram.*, 1921; A. Noreen, *Altschw. Gram.*, 1904; C. Palmgren, *English Gradation-Nouns*, Uppsala, 1904; O. Schade, *Alt-deutsches Wörterbuch*; W. Streitberg, *Got. Elementarbuch*, 1920; Söderwall, *Ordbok öfver Svenska Medeltidsspråket*; J. Wright, *Eng. Dial. Dictionary*.

by 'form of Christianity' or 'ecclesiastical order', but the sense of the word generally may be taken to be 'a system of regulations and practices observed by a community: observances, ordinances'. This is in keeping with another variation of our passage, viz.: *To halde þase laughes þe pape þam sette*, v. 24788 139a col. 2 l. 12, where *laughes* 'laws, ordinances' is used instead of *lede*. The same sense applies to *lede* in the second example quoted above, in which it is used of the system of statutes and practices observed by the Templars or, in other words, the rule of that order.

The word *lede* in the sense discussed above is elsewhere recorded only in Cursor Mundi. Kaluza translates it by 'law', adding a question mark. OED quotes one example of this *lede* under the sense 'leading, direction, guidance'. The sense of the word is also in Cursor Mundi 'prescribed usage, observances' and the like, perhaps with a shade of meaning in which the volitional element ('precept, decree') is more pronounced than in the examples quoted from Thom. Cast., so that *lede* actually approaches the sense 'law', hesitatingly assumed by Kaluza. The examples are four in number: *þai left þe lede of þar lau, þat es o settness and o kind*, v. 1570. — *All þat will hald lely þair lede, Blode at ete i þam for-bede*, v. 1955. — *For it was boden in þair ledd Wit marriage þe folk to sprede*, v. 10683. — *Forbeden beistes war in lede*, v. 19861.

B

1. Þe thewes and þe maner I wate
Of britons folk tochand þe state.
Þe speche I haf of þar langage,
Als noriste amanges þar linage,
Noriste amanges þam lang thrau.
Welner al þar *lede* I know.
fol. 102a col. 2 l. 1.
2. Þus þai ordained, and dide in dede,
Þoru sum þat cuȝ of britones *lede*,
In metes or drinkes to do venim,
In sum quaintise bring it to him.
v. 19621 fol. 110a col. 1 l. 9.
3. And of þam alle, lo, þai chese ane
Þat maste of sleight had vnderstane,
Þat of britons *lede* maste cuth
And ferrest kneu baȝ north and suth,
Christen mens thewes he had lerede.
v. 19644 fol. 110a col. 1 l. 32.
4. And curtesie and fair bering
Amanges britons anens þar *lede*
Alle oþer kyngdoms it oueryode.
v. 21391 fol. 120a col. 2 l. 27.
5. In felde þai come anens þar *lede*,
Aȝer redie of oþer haf dede.
v. 24939 fol. 140a col. 1 l. 30.
6. Bot if þat I faile of my sagh,
In *lede* full mekyll fra vs þai dragh.
Þai pas þe *ledes* of our kyn,
Þat settes so far þe ce wiz in
fol. 39a col. 2 ll. 23, 24.

Geoffrey: Set nisi fallor ualde degenerati
sunt a nobis ... cum infra oceanum extra
orbem commaneant. p. 306.

In these examples *lede* is used of the 'custom(s), customary rule or usage, practice, ways' of a people or community without the element 'precept, decree, or ordinance'. The plur. *ledes* in ex. B 6 means 'ways, customs'. In ex. B 4 and B 5 *lede* appears in the combination *anens þar lede*, which in Thom. Cast. is employed as a standing formula or metrical expletive, which must not, as a rule, be taken too literally. From the examples quoted, however, it is obvious that the sense of the collocation is 'according to (or: as to) their custom', 'according to (or: as to) their ways'.

C

1. Sythen tid þorowe auentur and chance
Þat aganipe, þe kyng of france,
Herd or þe fame and þe fairhed
Of cordoile t[he]wes and of hyr *led*.
fol. 20a col. 2 l. 7.
2. In gouernaile cohill, his son,
Of alle þe regne he nam coron,
Of gode thewes and of faire *lede*,
Noriste at rome fra his childehede,
Of romains lorde thewes and mours.
fol. 51a col. 1 l. 27.
3. If you desire þe soȝ to lere
Qwat es mi *lede* in þis warld here:
A cristen man for am I.
In criste es my troght stedefasteli.
fol. 57b col. 1 l. 3.
4. He sal bicum of *lede* so liþer,
Þat he sal sone flaie baȝ his breþer.
fol. 91a col. 2 l. 1.
5. In *lede* I salle me feyng briter.
Als born of britaines nacion.
fol. 102a col. 2 l. 10.
6. Ðan in englande floriste saint bede,
So honourable man and saint of *lede*.
v. 26815 fol. 150b col. 1 l. 21.
7. After him his broþer, lo, ethelrede,
A noble knight, curtais of *lede*,
Coron he nam, þe regne to yieme.
v. 28879 fol. 162a col. 1 l. 17.
8. Thomas, so of him writen es fonden,
Of fadre and moder was born in londen,
Of thewes gode in his childehede,
Greu and faire, graciouse of *lede*.
fol. 189b col. 1 l. 25.
9. To ylkone sere of þame he yied
And askyd þame anence þar *led*
Qwylke of þame most in hert hym lofed.
fol. 19a col. 2 l. 29.
10. Ðis edwarde als anens his *lede*
Was wise of worde and fole in dede.
fol. 221a col. 2 l. 16.
11. He folghede nan traces of his br[o]þer,
ffer qwi his *ledes* becom all oper,
Þe right laughtes he withstode.
ffer fra his broþer *ledes* he yiode.
fol. 36a col. 2, l. 10.

In this string of examples *lede* (and the plur. *ledes*, ex. C 11) has the meaning 'way of life, ways, nabits, conduct, behaviour, deportment' of an individual. Note especially C 1 and 2, in which *lede* is co-ordinated with *thewes*. With regard to *anens þar* (or: *his*) *lede* in ex. C 9 and 10, cf. my remarks on Group B.

D

1. Ðase daies it was na noble man
In oper fer kyngrikes þan,
Þat worthi held him to be louede,
Bot in his curtes he had ben proued ...
Bot if he cuth anens his mightes
Ber him in *lede* of arthures knightes.
v. 20766 fol. 116b col. 2 l. 32.
Geoffrey: Unde nobilissimus quisque
incitatus nichili pendebat se, nisi ...
sese ad modum militum arturi haberet,
p. 446.
2. On arthur egrer þan he was are
He ran in *lede* of A wilde bare.
v. 22224 fol. 125a col. 1 l. 6.
Geoffrey: acrior insurgit et velut aper ...
ita irruit ... in regem. p. 472.
3. Euer quils he lifede in þis warlde here,
He helde þam als his childe dere
With his awn sons in his presens.
Elles gware at honourable despense
With his awn sons at borde and wede,
In horsing and in alkins *lede*,
Euer quils knout in þis warlde durede,
With his awn childe he þam honurede.
fol. 173a col. 1 l. 1.

The sense of *lede* here is 'way, manner, wise, fashion'. In the first two passages *in lede* of signifies 'after the manner of, like', translating respectively *ad modum* + the genitive and *velut* of the Latin. Having thus established the sense 'way, manner' in *lede*, we may safely assume that the word has the same meaning in the third instance quoted above: *in alkins lede* = 'in every sort of way, in every way'.

E

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Arthur forsoȝ his son he hight
Of alle childer farist in sight,
In cors, in speche, in thewes, in dede,
Pas daies nan sene fairer in <i>lede</i> .
fol. 108a col. 2 l. 4. | 2. Alle in his house ful worshipelie
Wer suo enformed of curteisie,
Pat þe worde and also þe <i>lede</i>
In to fulfer kyngrikes it yiede.
v. 20753 fol. 116b col. 2 l. 19. |
|--|--|

In each of the instances quoted above two interpretations are possible. However, sense C 'way of life, ways, deportment', etc. seems preferable in both. In ex. E 1 *in lede* might mean 'among the people, in the land', cf. *Ha! þou Iudas, traitur, thef, felunest in lede!* Cursor M. v. 15480. In fact, this would appear the most natural translation, if our knowledge of the word were limited to that obtainable from information given by OED. However, in view of the instances quoted under C — note especially *faire lede* (C 2) and *faire, graciouse of lede* (C 8) — the evidence appears in favour of the translation 'way of life, ways', etc. Turning to *lede* in the second instance, we find it co-ordinated with *worde* 'fame', and might therefore be tempted to identify it with *lede* = *leden* 'speech, utterance'. It is more likely, however, that here too we are confronted with *lede* meaning 'ways, deportment', etc. The illogical co-ordination *þe worde and þe lede* for *þe worde of þe lede* is nothing surprising in Thom. Cast., cf. ex. C 1: *Herd of þe fame and þe fairhed for þe fame of þe fairhed*, fol. 20a col. 2 l. 7.

We have established the following main senses of *lede*: A. a system of regulations and practices observed by a community: observances, ordinances, order, rule, obligatory practice; B. customary mode of acting or behaviour prevailing in a community: custom(s), usage(s), ways, in plur. customs, ways; C. the way of life of an individual: ways, habits, conduct, behaviour, deportment, in plur. ways; D. the way in which something is done or takes place: way, manner, wise, fashion, kind. Before taking up in detail the connection between these main senses, it seems desirable to consider briefly the etymology of the word.

First of all it may be stated that our word *lede* is formally identical with *lead* (sb.-2 in OED) 'leading, direction, guidance'. OED derives this *lead* from the verb *lead*, comparing it at the same time with OHG *leitī*. The ME noun *lede* has a long close ē, which appears from such rhymes as *lede: yiēde*, Thom. Cast., vv. 20753, 21391, : *forbēde*, Cursor M., v. 1955. This fact does not prevent us from connecting this noun with the ME verb *lede* (OE *lædan*, Prim. Germanic **laiðjan*). For although the *i*-umlaut of OE *ā* (= Germanic *ai*) is normally OE *æ* > ME *ē*, the result of the same process is sometimes, in Anglian dialects, OE *ē* > ME *ē*, especially before dentals, see Luick, §§ 187, 361 Anm. 2, Jordan, § 48. Anm. 2. In fact,

the verb has a close *ē* in Thom. Cast., which is evidenced by such rhymes as *lēde* vb.: *thēde* sb. (OE *þēod*), fol. 70a col. 1 l. 34. Still the matter is not so simple as is implied by the suggestion made by OED. It is true that from a modern point of view the noun *lead* seems to have been formed by 'conversion' from its verbal namesake. But if we examine the history of the word, its origin will appear in a different light.

ME *lede*, the prototype of NE *lead*, may go back to a hypothetical OE *lāde*, a neuter *ia*-stem, by the side of OE *lād* fem. 'course, journey, way; leading, carrying'. Cf. ON *leiþe* neut. 'a leading wind, fair wind; tomb', by the side of *leiþ* fem. 'course, way, road; manner, wise', and *-leiþe* used in compounds as *byrleiþe* 'a favourable course, fair wind', *gagnleiþe* 'the shortest way, a short cut', *langleiþe* 'a long way or distance', *þā-leiþes* adv. gen. 'in this way, thus', see Ekwall, pp. 55 ff. We may also compare OHG *leitī* fem. 'leading, carrying, ductus' by the side of *leita* fem. 'leading, carrying, ductus, ducatus; funus, exsequiæ'. The former, according to Schade, is chiefly used in compounds, e.g. *libleiti* 'victus, alimentum', *uzleiti* 'exsequiæ', *wazarleiti* 'aquæductus'. OHG *leitī* is a Germanic *in*-stem, i.e. the same stem as is used in forming fem. abstract nouns from adjectives, e.g. Goth. *managei* 'multitude', OHG *hreini* 'purity'. In OHG and OS this class also embraces stems with the Germanic ending *-ini* (= Goth. *-eins*), used to form fem. abstract nouns from class I of weak verbs, e.g. OHG *toufi*, OS *dōpi* = Goth. *daupeins*, OHG *leitī* (Braune § 213 b, Kluge § 149 c, Ekwall pp. 8 ff., Streitberg § 157 Anm. 1). In OE, where a similar transition of stems in *-ini* into the *in*-declension has not taken place, the ending *-ini* is preserved in the form of *-en*, e.g. *sylen* 'gift', *ziemen* 'care' (Kluge, § 149). Accordingly an OE noun corresponding to OHG *leitī* would have the form *lāden*, which would become ME *lēden*, later *lēde*, cf. ME *lēde* 'utterance' from ME *lēden* = OE *lāden*. It should be noted, however, that a noun like *leitī* is not necessarily an original *ini*-stem. In OHG there was a vacillation between neutral nouns in *-i* and fem. nouns in *-i*, e.g. *folleisti* neut., *-i* fem., *urteili* neut., *-i* fem., see Ekwall, pp. 9 ff., Braune, § 213 b, Anm. 1, § 201, Anm. 1. There is some possibility that forms in *-i* are the original ones and that those in *-in* have been transformed on account of association with the corresponding verbs. It is therefore not altogether improbable that OHG *leitī* has been changed from an OHG *leitī* neut., corresponding to ON *leiþe*, OE **lāde*, on account of association with the verb *leitan*. OHG *leitī* as well as ON *leiþe* are probably deverbatives, but in view of the fact that both these words seem to have been used chiefly in compounds, one might be tempted to connect the variation OHG *leitī* : *leita*, ON *leiþe* : *leiþ*, OE **lāde* : *lād* with the well-known Germanic practice of using *ia*-formations in compounds, e.g. Goth. *andalauni* : *laun*, OHG *brustbeini* : *bein*, OE *elfylce* : *folc*. However, as has been shown by Professor Ekwall, pp. 103 ff., *ia*-formations dissociated from their compounds, though numerous in ON, are extremely rare, if occurring at all in West Germanic languages.

In the explanations given so far we have been dealing with hypothetical OE forms. But *lede* may have arisen in Middle English times, and as an innovation of this type has parallels in that period of the language, an explanation grounding on such an assumption seems preferable. As has been suggested by Dr. Palmgren, p. 69, the word may have been formed on the basis of OE and ME *lād* (= NE *lode*, *load*), which in senses most

closely associated with the verb *lede*, viz. 'leading, guidance', has taken over the vowel of the verb, so as to give the result *led*, generally spelt *lede*. For a similar remodelling of a noun on a cognate weak verb, cf. ME *wēp* 'weeping', Gen. and Ex., etc. with *ē* for *ō* — cf. OE and ME *wōp* — from the verb *wēpe* 'weep', see Palmgren, p. 51.

Let us now proceed to analyse the senses of *lede*. They are, as I believe, the combined result of two partly opposite trends of sense-development, springing up from two different sources, but tending to produce the same result. The sources are: 1) the sense 'leading'; 2) the sense 'way, course'. It will be our task to trace the origin of these primary senses and the way in which they have developed into the senses found in Thom. Cast.

Whether we explain *lede* from OE **lāde* or from OE *lād*, it is evident that it was once felt as a verbal abstract noun going with the verb *lede* 'lead, guide, govern'. From this point of view the primary signification of the word must have been 'leading, guidance, governance', of which OED quotes two relevant examples: *Dan tok ioseph iesus to ledde*. Cursor M. 12029. — *Hom lacked the lede of þe lorde Ector*. Destr. Troy 10653. Senses A, B, and C can have developed from this original sense. A pretty close parallel to this development is provided by ME and NE *governance*, an abstract noun, formed from the verb *govern*, which may be used as a synonym for *lede*, cf. *A man anogh religieuse to govern and lede goddes house*, Thom. Cast. v. 24740 fol. 139a col. 1 l. 10. The main senses of *governance* are: 'the action of governing: the office or power of governing; the manner in which something is governed or regulated; system of regulations, a rule of practice, a discipline; conduct of life or business, mode of living, behaviour, demeanour'. The semantic correspondence between *lede* and *governance* justifies us in deriving senses A, B, and C from an original sense 'leading, governance'. Can sense D 'manner, wise', which is not represented by *governance*, be derived from the same source? Before answering this question we had better consider a little more closely all the senses of the word.

Sense B 'custom(s), usage(s)', etc. may have developed from sense A 'observances, ordinances, order, rule', etc. Note especially ex. B 3, in which *Cristen mens thewes* indicates that the *lede* of the Britons is regarded as something connected with their Christian faith and practice, which we found to be the case in the examples of *lede* quoted in Group A. Cf. also ME *laze*, *lawe* 'a rule of conduct imposed by authority, the body of rules', and without reference to an external commanding authority: 'custom, customary rule or usage; habit, practice, ways'. Sense C 'conduct, ways, habits' referring to an individual may have developed from sense B 'custom or usage' prevailing in a community. Cf. ex. C 3: *In lede I salle me feyng briton*. The connection of sense C with sense A may be illustrated by ex. C 3, where *lede* has reference to the Christian practice observed by an individual. Associative influence from the verb *lede* has no doubt also contributed to developing and strengthening sense C. Note especially *lede* vb. refl. 'conduct oneself, behave, act', e.g. *Wel aȝtist þe faire to lede* EEP p. 12 (quoted from Mätzner, *Altenglisches Wörterbuch*). With this should be compared *faire lede* in C 2 and *faire of lede* in C 8. With regard to the relation *lede* refl. vb.: *lede* sb., cf. Eng. *conduct oneself*: *conduct*; *bear oneself*: *bearing*; *govern oneself*: *governance*; Germ. *sich*

benehmen : *Benehmen*; *sich aufführen* : *Aufführung*; Swed. *uppföra sig* : *uppförande*.

Lastly, let us turn to sense D 'manner, way'. This might have evolved from sense C 'conduct, ways', etc. in contexts like: *Ber him in lede of arthures knightes* (D 1) = 'bear himself in (= according to) the conduct of A's knights', i.e. 'in (= after) the manner of' or 'like A's knights'. With this use of *lede* may be compared Latin expressions such as *in morem* or *more latronum* 'after the manner of' or 'like highwaymen', *in morem* or *more fluminis* 'after the manner of' or 'like a river'. But Lat. *mos* is of little help in regard to tracing the proximate source of the sense 'way, manner'. The expression *in lede* of in the first two instances quoted under D corresponds to Lat. *in morem* + the genitive. But no form of Latin *mos* could be used to translate *lede* in the phrase in *alkins lede* of the third instance in Group D. Nor could *mos* be employed in collocations such as 'in this way, hoc modo', a use which, as we shall see later, is characteristic of *lede* in modern dialects. This discrepancy between Lat. *mos* and ME *lede* in regard to their sense 'way, manner' may be connected with the fact that the Lat. word sticks to the element 'customary, habitual', which is not an essential feature in ME *lede*. It is also possible, perhaps, that the sense 'way, manner' of Lat. *mos* is merely a shade of a primary meaning 'will, desire, tendency',² which is not the case with sense D of ME *lede*. If so, this factor is responsible for the semantic discrepancy just referred to. In short, Lat. *mos* does not support the assumption of a sense-development 'conduct' > 'manner, wise'. If we turn to the English language, we find that none of such words as *conduct*, *demeanour*, *behaviour*, *deportment*, *bearing*, *governance* have developed the sense 'way, manner'. A reverse development, on the other hand, is more in harmony with certain well-attested characteristics of the language. Cf. *manner* 'the way in which a thing is done, customary mode of acting or behaviour either of an individual or of a community; bearing, deportment'; — *way* 'road, course; manner in which something is done or takes place; customary mode of acting or behaving, behaviour'.³

In introducing the latter word into the discussion we have approached the second source of the senses of *lede*, viz. the sense 'way, course'. This meaning is not recorded in extant Middle English documents but may be assumed to have existed in view of the sense 'path' from the end of the 16th century (see OED) and the sense 'way, road' in the Cumberland dialect (see *infra*). The sense 'way, course' may have originated in ME *lede* 'leading' in concrete application = 'something that leads', or else it may have been taken over from OE ME *lād* (cf. however, *infra*). For the sense-development of *lede* from a primary signification 'way, course', it is sufficient to compare NE *way*, whose meanings, including references to corresponding uses of *lede*, may be repeated here: 'road, path', cf. early NE and Eng. dial. *lead*; 'course', cf. OE ME *lād*; 'manner, wise' = *lede* D; 'customary or usual manner of acting or behaviour,' cf. *lede* B, in plur.

² The etymology of *mos* is not definitely settled. But according to the prevalent view the word is connected with Greek *μαίωμαί, μῶσθαι* 'wish eagerly, seek after, covet', see Walde-Pokorny, Boisacq, etc.

³ A discussion of the sense-development of words such as Engl. *fashion*, *wise*, etc., Lat. *ritus*, *habitus*, etc., Greek *τρόπος*, etc. would throw further light on the subject but would take us too far. Besides it is not necessary for this investigation.

'customary modes of behaviour; usages, customs' = *ledes* B; 'behaviour' = *lede* C, often in collective plur. = *ledes* C. As to *lede* in sense A 'observances, ordinances', we may compare *way* in the sense 'a prescribed course of life or conduct; the law or commandment (of God)', also in plur., see OED *way* 11d, and *the Way* in the Acts of the Apostles, 'a name for the Christian religion' (NT ἡ ὁδός, Vulg. *via*), see OED *way* 11e.

The comparison with NE *way* looks attractive enough. Yet, it should be borne in mind that the primary signification 'way, course' is not recorded for *lede* until about 200 years after the appearance of the senses which seem to derive from it. It is also noteworthy that OE ME *lād* 'way, course' (NE *lode*, *load*) is not known as signifying 'manner, wise' in any period of the language. These facts are not fatal objections to the assumption that sense D 'manner, wise' derives from a primary sense 'way, course'. They are, nevertheless, sufficiently important to make it worth while to consider an alternative explanation, viz. that the meaning 'manner, wise' — and the meaning 'way, course', too, if it existed in Middle English — is due, not to internal development, but to foreign, i.e. Scandinavian influence.

The text in which *lede* occurs in the uses discussed above, viz. Thom. Cast., belongs to the Northern area. Here OE ME *lād* and ME *lede* no doubt got into contact with the Old Norse etymological counterpart of *lād*, viz. *leið*, which beside the sense 'course, way, journey' had also the sense 'manner, way, wise', e.g. (*á*) *þá leið* 'in that way, in that manner', *þáleiðes* adv. gen. 'in that way, thus', (*á*) *hverja leið* 'in what way', etc. ON *leið* is not met with in ME, but it may be assumed that at one time in areas liable to Scandinavian influence, it existed side by side with the native words *lād* and *lēd* and that *lēd* was gradually substituted for the Scandinavian word, the more readily as it was similar in form to *leið* and had itself the tendency to develop the sense 'way; manner, wise', see *supra*. If this is right, ON *leið* is responsible for sense D 'manner, wise', partly also for senses C and B, and possibly, to a small extent, for sense A, whereas the original sense 'leading' of *lede* is the chief source of sense A 'observances, ordinances, rule', etc. and is likely to have contributed to senses B and C.

If we trace ME *lede* down to modern times, we find it branched off into a diversity of senses, which may be classified under two headings. One, including senses more or less directly derived from the meaning 'leading, guidance', is represented by Standard English, see *lead* sb. 2 in OED. The second group of uses, which is limited to senses and localities so different from the group represented by Standard English that it may be said to have yielded a separate dialectal word *lead*, is more interesting from our point of view. The main senses of this *lead* are: 1) 'way, road' = early NE *lead*; 2) 'course, direction', cf OE ME *lād*; 'way of life' = ME *lede* C; 'way, manner, fashion, kind' = ME *lede* D. I quote some examples from Wright, EDD.

1) Cum. *A gey long lead frae t' station.* — 2) N.Cy. *This lids, that lids;* Cum. *Other lids, like lids;* Cum. Wm. *Hod thersels ea this lids an that lids;* n. Yks. *Deean't run about in that leed;* *I' that leed;* *Queer leads;* *A wrang lead;* w. Yks. *It's nobbud Calvinists at talk i' that lids;* n. Lan. Ken. *Do it in this lead.*

It appears from the examples that dial. *lead* is found chiefly in the Northern area, the centre of Scandinavian settlement in England, and that

its sense 2 corresponds to sense D and, to a smaller extent, to sense C of ME *lede*. Both these facts tell in favour of Scandinavian influence upon ME *lede*. Note, however, Ken. *in this lead*. The collocations *this lids*, *that lids*, *other lids*, *like lids*, which are adverbial genitives, are strikingly similar to OW Scand. *þáleipes* 'in that way, thus', *apráleipes* 'in another way', etc., OE Scand. *annarlēpis* (cf. Swed. *annorledes*), 'in another way', *samulēpis* (cf. Swed. *sammaledes*) 'in the same way', etc. As to Scandinavian formations on *-leipes*, *-lēpis*, see Ekwall, pp. 55 ff., cf. p. 38; Söderwall, p. 744, Noreen, § 470 a) and Anm. 2. The English expressions, however, need not have been copied on Scandinavian patterns, since the English language itself had adverbial genitives in *-es*, see Sievers, § 320. Cf. expressions such as *oðres wezes* (1124), *oðer weis* (1175), *þes wæies* (1205), *the same wayes* (1338), *another waies* (16th c.), etc., dial. *this ways*, *that ways*, *the same ways*, see OED *way* 23 a; *nogates* (14th c.), *othergates* (14th c.), etc., see OED *gate* 9 b. The adverbial *-es*, *-s* in these collocations is of native origin, and so is no doubt *-s* in *this lids*, *other lids*, etc. If, however, as is not unlikely, Scandinavian compounds in *-leipes*, *-lēpis* found their way into the English language, they were merged in corresponding English expressions and contributed to strengthen the vitality of the latter.

The result of the investigation may be summed up in the following manner: ME *led(e)* 'leading; observances, custom(s), conduct, manner, wise', surviving in dial. *lead*, goes back to an OE **lāde*, or more likely, to OE ME *lād*, with *ē* from the verb *lēde*. The senses of the word are the combined result of 1) the sense 'leading'; 2) the sense 'way, course'; 3) influence from the verb *lede*. The sense 'way' > 'manner, wise' is due either to internal development, or more probably perhaps, to influence from ON *leiþ* 'course, way; manner, wise'.

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FRANK BEHRE.

Notes and News

Sir Toby's "Cakes and Ale"

Sir Toby Belch is Shakespeare's own creation, and has no clear prototype in the assigned sources of *Twelfth Night*; but critics generally pass him over lightly: Kreyssig refers to him as "the bibulous knight", and Furnivall as one of the "drunkards" in the piece; Montégut considers him a "grotesque" quite appropriate to such a "masquerade" or "carnival farce".¹ The editors of the Arden edition find him a very pale — and very drunken — cousin-german of Falstaff;² and the editors of the New Cambridge edition consider the play a "Christmas romp", and Sir Toby a variation of the fat

¹ *Twelfth Night*, ed. Furness var., 381 et seq.

² *Ibid.*, ed. Arden, xvi-xvii.

knight, "a derelict of decaying times".³ Perhaps because he is so drunken, and for this reason presumably unaccountable for his actions, or because he is a mere "grotesque" — and so beyond the confines of realistic motivation — his character and his part in the plot are left with little comment. But Sir Toby, like most of Shakespeare's additions to his sources in contemporary plays, is obviously a figure drawn realistically from life — a "derelict" of decadent feudalism — and an analysis of his actions in relation to his social and economic status can hardly be amiss.

Sir Toby is the Countess Olivia's uncle; and his intimacy with Fabyan, Feste and Maria suggests that he is her late father's brother. If so, he must have been, like Orlando in *As You Like It*,⁴ an impecunious younger son who must seek his fortune as he may. At any rate, like Falstaff, he has long since been reduced to live by his wits on such as had less wit than he; and his apparent success in this adventurous career suggests that, for all his drinking, he was not without an ability to scheme. The shifts and chicaneries of such a life have apparently brazed his conscience to the trickeries he practices on his gull Sir Andrew; and its uncertainties, and perhaps occasional want, have made him appreciate the bounty of "Cakes and Ale"⁵ that his niece Olivia supplies, and have also made him determine not to lose this bounty. Though he seems to have received some education and can chop logic in a fashion,⁶ yet his career is ostensibly that of a soldier; but the young Sebastian so quickly puts him to rout that one suspects that his military prowess was limited to the resorts of roasters and wastrels in the Illyrian counterpart of London. Even if he were a *bona fide* soldier, however, and actually had gained his knighthood in the wars, he would be reduced in times of peace to shift for himself; for indeed Renaissance potentates rarely made provision even for wounded veterans. In short, whether his military character was actual or assumed, he doubtless, like most men of his position in Elizabethan England, had little choice but to turn roaster, and what we hear of him in the play suggests that way of life. He likes "Beare-baiting"⁷ and love songs⁸ and "Coziars Catches",⁹ and he has a happy knack for vituperation,¹⁰ and plies his liquor so incontinently that he is up with it betimes at night and re-commences his drunken "Letargie" even early in the morning.¹¹ Like Falstaff, he has a well developed taste not only for drink but also for convivial company;¹² but this taste is not so overwhelming but that he has, also like Falstaff, a shrewd eye to the means for its gratification;¹² and the present writer would seek to explain his actions in the play, not merely as buffoonery and drunken frolic, but also as a definite, if perhaps ill-advised, scheme to supply an easy and permanent means to meet these, his simple wants.

In his merry haunts, before the play begins, Sir Toby had doubtless heard of the Count's death, and then of the sudden death of Olivia's brother, the Count's son. This double taking off had left as head of the family a

³ *Ibid.*, ed. New Cambridge, xix and xxv.

⁴ See the present author, "Orlando, the Younger Brother", *P. Q.*, XIII, 72 *et seq.*

⁵ *Twelfth Night*, ed. Furness var., II, iii, 114.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, iii, 8 *et seq.* ⁷ *Ibid.*, II, v, 9-10.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, iii, 37-39. ⁹ *Ibid.*, II, iii, 91-92.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II, v, 37 *et passim*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, v, 122-123.

¹² See the present author, "Sir John Falstaff", *R.E.S.*, VIII, 414 *et seq.*

young and marriageable heiress; and, in such a situation, suitors and go-betweens would naturally flock upon the scene.¹³ Sir Toby, who naturally could not marry his niece himself, could at least try to dispose of her hand to someone whom he might hope to dominate, and the vacuous Sir Andrew, who can boast, moreover, of the obvious matrimonial advantages of "three thousand ducates a yeare"¹⁴ and also knighthood — "on carpet consideration"¹⁵ — is of course the very man. Sir Toby, furthermore, has learned that Olivia will not match "aboue hir degree, neither in estate, yeares nor wit";¹⁶ and surely Sir Andrew then, from the lady's point of view, as well as Sir Toby's own, ought to meet every just requirement for a husband. Sir Toby then, bringing along Sir Andrew, goes to live for a time with his youthful kinswoman, poses as her protector, discourages other suitors, and trusts at last to gain his end of betrothing her to his *protégé* and so getting for himself a permanent residence close to her buttery bar. In the play, he says little of this scheme directly; for there is no one to whom he could confide it — certainly not to Olivia herself, or to Sir Andrew, or to the rival suitors whom he wishes to drive off. Elizabethans, however, realizing his social and economic status, would also realize that it supplies an evident motive for his actions.

Unfortunately for Sir Toby's plans, both the Countess and Sir Andrew prove somewhat intractable: Olivia will not even see the "foolish knight";¹⁷ and the "foolish knight" is not so foolish but that he realizes that her attentions are unwelcome. Like Roderigo,¹⁸ he threatens to go "home tomorrow";¹⁹ and, though he finally promises to stay another month, yet he soon loses heart again; and, after the fight with Sebastian, he yet again would "rather than forty pound" he were at home. Sir Toby, like Iago, must at once encourage his suit despite every evidence to the contrary, and urge him to "Send for money".²⁰ Indeed, before the middle of the play, Sir Andrew's finances are already "a foule way out";²¹ and Sir Toby has extracted from him "two thousand strong or so already."²² But luckily for Sir Toby, his *protégé* is a very "prodigall",²³ the perfect gull for roarsers to thrive upon; and so Sir Andrew is persuaded to remain and even to take part in a duel to further his suit. The shrewd Olivia was an even harder proposition: she has taken refuge in deep mourning, and so especially resents both Sir Toby's "ill houres" and his drinking and his "Coziers Catches" and above all the introduction of Sir Andrew into her household "to be hir wooer".²⁴ She "harbors" Sir Toby "as her kinsman", in accordance with the liberality to relatives that Elizabethan custom demanded; but she is "nothing ally'd" to his "disorders".²⁵ Of course, Sir Toby dislikes her mourning,²⁶ not only because it interferes with his "caterwalling"

¹³ See C. J. Sisson, *Lost Plays*, Cambridge, 1936, 14 *et seq.*

¹⁴ *Twelfth Night*, I, iii, 23.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, III, iv, 235.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, iii, 102 *et seq.* See also the present writer, "The Wooing of Olivia", *Neophil.* XXIII, 37 *et seq.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, iii, 17-18.

¹⁸ See the present writer, "This Poor Trash of Venice", *J. E. G. P.*, XXX, 508.

¹⁹ *Twelfth Night*, I, iii, 99 *et seq.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, iii, 180.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, iii, 178-179. ²² *Ibid.*, I, ii, 55-56.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, iii, 25. ²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, iii, 6 *et seq.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, iii, 96-97. ²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, iii, 2-4.

below stairs but also because it gives his niece an excuse to hold off his candidate from wooing.

Nevertheless, Sir Toby is not to be easily circumvented; and he centres his attention on embarrassing such rivals as he can. He holds the Duke's messenger "in delay" at the gate.²⁷ Olivia declares that he "speakes nothing but madman";²⁸ and yet there is a method in this madness that perhaps she does not see. He stands between her and her Cesario as much as he dares — even to the point of the duel with Sir Andrew; but Olivia rebukes him in such stinging terms²⁹ that he finally realizes that he can do no more. Malvolio is doubly dangerous to Sir Toby, not only as a suitor but also as the steward of the household, for in this latter capacity he has some oversight of the dispensing of "Cakes and Ale". Sir Toby conspires with Maria to ruin Malvolio's suit by making him ridiculous in his mistress' eyes, and he is so pleased at the success of the plot that, even without the usual and much-needed dowry, he promises to marry his fellow-conspirator. He calls her his "youngest Wren",³⁰ his "little villaine" and his "Mettle of India",³¹ Such a marriage, to the Elizabethans, would seem extremely altruistic;³² and altruism was not Sir Toby's *forte*. Perhaps then we should look about for other motives for this marriage: Maria was very close to her ladyship; and, as Sir Andrew's suit seemed to be getting nowhere, Sir Toby could most conveniently and permanently attach himself to the household by wedding an indispensable part of it. Feste thought the match a poor one for Maria,³³ for he judged Sir Toby a fool;³⁴ but Maria "adores" him,³⁵ and a girl without dowry was lucky to get any sort of husband within the ranks of the gently born. Sir Toby, on his side, appreciates her cleverness; and so, at a single stroke, he provides himself not only with "Cakes and Ale" but also with a wife.

Sir Toby and his confederates have disposed of Malvolio; and he helps Olivia dispose of the amorous Duke; but, as the play progresses, danger arises from a new direction. The Countess clearly loves Cesario³⁶ — so clearly that even Sir Andrew sees it.³⁷ Sir Toby shrewdly notices that Cesario seems too young to be a competent swordsman;³⁸ and so perhaps a little swagger and bravado will scare him off.³⁹ Sir Toby himself will, if possible, avoid the risk; but Sir Andrew is the obvious candidate for these military honors. The consequent mistaken fight with the active and valiant young Sebastian gives the *coup de grâce* to Sir Toby's plans of marrying off Sir Andrew; and Olivia, despite all his schemes, weds as she will.

Sir Toby is to some degree the *deus ex machina* of the play: he partly creates the action, and partly unravels it; he supplies one lover and helps to defeat two others, and tries, without success, to stop the fourth. He is crucial in both the low-life and the aristocratic plot;⁴⁰ and thus both plots

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, v, 103. ²⁸ *Ibid.*, I, v, 105-106.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, i, 46 *et seq.* ³⁰ *Ibid.*, III, ii, 67.

³¹ *Ibid.*, II, v, 15-16.

³² See H. P. Pettigrew, "Bassanio, the Elizabethan Lover", *P. Q.*, XVI, 296 *et seq.*

³³ *Twelfth Night*, I, v, 20. ³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, v, 114.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, iii, 173.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, III, i, 85 *et seq.* ³⁷ *Ibid.*, III, ii, 7 *et seq.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*, III, ii, 60 *et seq.* ³⁹ *Ibid.*, III, v, 220 *et seq.*

⁴⁰ See the present author, "Olivia's Household", *P. M. L. A.*, XLIX, 797 *et seq.*

are clearly motivated, not only by his love of fun, but also, more realistically, by his eye to the main chance and his determination — in the end apparently successful — to provide for himself an indefinite future of Olivia's "Cakes and Ale".

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A Note on the Shelley Bibliography 1908-1922

The Shelley Centenary Number of *English Studies* (1922) contains a bibliography of Shelley literature for the years 1908-1922, which was added to in the issue of April 1923 (Vol. V, No. 2).

The two lists give a fairly complete survey of Shelley literature for the years mentioned. On comparing them with my bibliographical notes I have missed the following items:

- HUGHSON, S. C., *The Best Letters of P. B. Shelley*, London, 1909.
 PEACOCK, THOMAS LOVE, *Letters to Edward Hookham and Percy B. Shelley, with Fragments of Unpublished MSS.*, edited by Dr. Garnett, Boston, 1910.
 SHELLEY, PERCY B., *De Cenci*, Vertaling van Dr. K. H. de Raaf, Amsterdam, 1911.
 VAN DOREN, CARL, *The Life of Thomas Love Peacock*, London, 1911 (Chapter III and *passim*).
 SHELLEY, LADY FRANCIS, *Diary of, 1787-1817*, ed. by Richard Edgcumbe, 2 vols., 1912.
 TWAIN, MARK, *In Defense of Harriet Shelley and other Essays*, 1918.
 BROOKE, STOPFORD A., *Poems of Shelley*, with a Preface, London, 1918.
 SHELLEY, P. B., *Epipsychidion*, limited edition, printed at the Shakespeare Head Press, 1921.
 GORDON, GEORGE, *Shelley and the Oppressors of Mankind* (Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. X), London, 1922.
 SHELLEY, P. B., *An Anthology in Commemoration of the Poet's Death*, edited by T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, 1922.

The above supplement may be of some use to Shelley students.¹

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The Study of American Literature in the United States

No historian of American literature can justly fail to observe that English critics have often first shown their American confrères when they possessed a writer of genuine talent. Swinburne, Symonds, and the Rossettis had to second Emerson's opinion of Whitman's merits before American critics in general began to believe that the author of *Leaves of Grass* was a great poet. More recently, Vachel Lindsay had to wait for a serious hearing in sophisticated American circles until he had triumphed at Oxford; and the

¹ Of minor importance are: a quarto program: *Souvenir of the Keats-Shelley Memorial Matinées at the Haymarket Theatre*, by Frederick Harrison, 1912, and: *The Bookman Keats-Shelley Memorial Souvenir*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, Warwick Square E. C., June 1912.

first recognition of Robert Frost, likewise, followed in the wake of English approval. At the present time, a fair proportion of American interest in T. S. Eliot is due to opinions expressed by English students of poetry. Even in less aesthetic matters the intellectual *élite* of the United States are prone to find the chief pabulum for their judgment of books not in one of their own magazines but in the London *Times Literary Supplement*.

Such a state of affairs has been induced not only by a new and shifting population and a large expanse of territory but by the democratic nature of American journalism. This democratic journalism, a most potent factor in American life in the past as well as the present, has been at once the chief critical force in the country and the most important field of literary production. Poe, Whitman, Lowell, Bryant, Hawthorne, and Emerson among the writers of an older day at one time or another edited a magazine or newspaper; and in the list of their successors in this regard are Bret Harte, Mark Twain, Howells, Norris, and Dreiser — to name only a few. Yet commercial and other interests have constantly thwarted the development of a critical periodical which would permanently entice the eyes of American intellectuals from a transatlantic gaze.

The history of American literature, as a consequence, involves the study of a few sincere artists staying on the path of art, and of a large group of writers succumbing to the lure of journalism — in the midst of a shifting and increasing population scattered over a wide area and interested predominantly in making money. The more discriminating intellects of the nation have until of late found it fashionable in their own circles to pay little attention to the literature of their own country, while the secondary level of intelligence has been marching to the tom-toms of the middle-class journals, which from time to time have created bubble literary reputations and bubble theories of art. In general, the writing of American literary history, like the creation of the bulk of American literature, has been chiefly effected by the journalists, whose respect for objective fact and enduring quality has been, wherever it exists, almost wholly a matter of accident.

So far as there has been any consequential study of American literary history — other than the work of journalists or the writers of textbooks — it has been performed by college professors whose training, until of late, has been primarily in the field of English literature or, very occasionally, of American history. There have been also a few antiquarians — largely in New England — who have made contributions to the subject, without a professional interest; and, very recently, a few free-lance critics have produced literary history with a large substratum of actuality behind it. But by far the largest proportion of American literary history of enduring worth has emanated from the colleges and universities.

Academic contributions to the study of American literature have been late in appearing for a number of reasons. In general, it was not until the United States arrived at the era of economic self-sufficiency that its scholars began to concern themselves to any notable extent with their own history. And then the chief flowering of the scholarly impetus was in the realm of political and, later, social, history — scholarly annalists of literature being comparatively late arrivals on the scene. The earliest consequential work was done by Moses Coit Tyler, who in 1878 completed *A History of American Literature 1607-1765*, still the best general survey of colonial

writings, and in 1897 brought out a further study, *The Literary History of the American Revolution*. His plan to write the history of American literature from the earliest English settlement down to his own time was never completed beyond the volumes mentioned above, and no work on a scale that can be in any way compared with Tyler's appeared until the years 1917 and following when the four volumes of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* made their appearance as the composite effort of a number of authors most of whom were not trained as specialists and some of whom had very little general interest in the subject. In the early years of the twentieth century more valuable work of a more specialized and limited scope began to appear — that of a few writers like George E. Woodberry, biographer of Poe and Hawthorne, and Barrett Wendell, who published in 1900 *A Literary History of America*, written with a strong New England bias.

The efforts of these men were followed by those of Bliss Perry, author of the best available biography of Whitman (1902), and the man responsible for our having in print the journals of Emerson and Thoreau. Contemporary with Professor Perry were such students as Paul Elmer More, the critic, whose *Shelburne Essays* frequently contained valuable discussions of American authors, W. C. Brownell, author of *American Prose Masters* (1909), likewise valuable criticism, and W. B. Cairns, a scholar interested in Anglo-American literary relations and the author of the *Oxford History of American Literature* (1912, revised 1930). Cairns, it is interesting to note, was one of the first Americans whose professorship was officially described as being in the field of American literature; his duties were performed at the University of Wisconsin.

Like most of these men, the older scholars still active in the field of American literary history are to a large extent converts to the subject from an earlier training in English literature, and their difficulties have been many, for the majority of the graduate schools in the United States have frankly disparaged the study of American letters and have imbued their Ph. D.'s with a respect for Chaucer's verbs or Dryden's prefaces rather than Emerson's ideas or Longfellow's knowledge of Italian. However, with the large increase in the number of students constantly making inroads on available subjects and the temporary checking of study in England during the World War and the general decline of interest in philology, this attitude has become somewhat old-fashioned; and certain of the graduate schools of English, like those of Columbia and Pennsylvania, have turned out a fair number of men equipped to do research in the field of American letters. Recently Harvard has modernized its procedure in training Ph. D.'s in English, under the aegis of Kenneth B. Murdock, to the extent of removing handicaps in the way of the student who wishes to devote himself to the study of his country's literature. Moreover, some of the smaller graduate schools removed from the area of large libraries, most of which are concentrated on the Eastern seaboard, have encouraged the study of their own regions, including the literature of the sections in which they are located.

In spite of the lethargy manifest in the attitude of the graduate schools — still remarkable in certain cases like that of Princeton University — the number of college instructors in American literature has increased considerably, along with the general increase in the number of college

students since the World War. Certain states, also, have passed laws requiring a course in American literature as part of the training of those who wish to receive certificates enabling them to teach in the public high schools.

As a consequence of the increased demand for college instructors in the subject and the inadequate supply from the graduate schools, many of the professors offering courses in American literature are not well grounded in their special field of instruction. This is a matter of considerable consequence, particularly when it is remembered that even at the present time the voices of the competent students of American literature are all but lost in the vast noise of journalistic production — in spite of the fact that in 1929 there was established at Duke University, in North Carolina, a scholarly magazine solely devoted to the study of the national letters. Moreover, the power of inferior journalism in its effect upon the poorly trained teachers of college courses in American literature is not the sole evil. What is perhaps even more distressing is the fact that a large number of the more competent professors have been seduced from the production of scholarly monographs to write textbooks to be used by their less gifted brethren. Of the most distinguished scholars in the field at the present time there are few indeed who have not in one way or another been associated with the production of a book designed primarily for use in the schools.

The Modern Language Association of America holds a meeting once a year at which research papers are read on topics dealing with problems in the study of literature. The officers of this society — and a large number of members — care little or nothing about studies of the national letters despite the fact that James Russell Lowell was their second president, but fortunately the so-called American Literature Group of the Association includes among its members practically all of the important specialists in the field. In 1928 these men sponsored a kind of manifesto calculated to stimulate interest in the study of their subject by publishing a volume with the title *The Reinterpretation of American Literature*, a symposium of essays on various factors in American literary history, written by Norman Foerster, F. L. Pattee, Jay B. Hubbell, and others. So far, this work seems to have influenced the production of a few textbooks, but its effect does not appear to have been felt outside the immediate circle of the group which occasioned its appearance. More potent, perhaps, in stirring up research was the work of the late Vernon L. Parrington, entitled *Main Currents in American Thought*,¹ a study of the political ideas of the chief literary figures of the United States. Lopsided with special interest as this study was, it was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for the year 1928 and enlisted the interest of the most powerful body of American scholars dealing with the humanities, namely, the historians.

The importance of the historians can not be disregarded by anyone who writes on the study of American literature, for their influence has been considerable. For example, the point of view of most competent researchers in the field of American literature has been that of the social historians,

¹ The first two volumes appeared in 1927: *The Colonial Mind 1620-1800* and *The Romantic Revolution in America 1800-1860*. A third volume, *The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America 1860-1920*, was left incomplete by its author but appeared in 1930, after his death.

who find the bulk of their materials for the writing of economic or cultural history in the newspapers and magazines. It is natural that the literary historian of America should borrow a method of approach from the student of social history rather than from the philologist or belles-lettrist, since American literature has been so largely journalistic in nature. Many a literary figure, of little consequence intrinsically, may assume greater significance as a subject of study if viewed as a representative of some factor, force, or period of American social history. A poet like Paul Hamilton Hayne, to cite an instance, when viewed from the purely artistic angle, offers very little for the researcher; but when he is considered as an exemplar of the state of cultivation in the South immediately following the Civil War he becomes a figure apparently deserving close study. This conception of literary history as a department of social history has accounted for a good deal of the best research done by American literary historians, but in certain cases it has already gone too far. Occasionally one finds that months of study have been devoted to writers of such minor importance that even the more learned students of American literary culture have not read their works — and probably never will.

Another idea derived ultimately from the social historians by scholars dealing with American literary history is the notion that the frontier has shaped American life and ideology so peculiarly that the most intrinsically-American writing has reflected it. Mark Twain, thus, is viewed not so much as a writer of humorous works but as the exponent of the tremendous spirit of the New West — a spirit of great importance because peculiarly American. This conception of the frontier influence upon literature, of course, lends itself very easily to the recent recrudescence of nationalism — largely economic in nature — and has produced a variety of monstrously distorted journalistic studies. The scholars working in the field of literature have by no means escaped the influence of this interesting exploitation of a theory, although no one of them has as yet demonstrated the special residue left by the spirit of the frontiersman. Even the volume devoted to *The Reinterpretation of American Literature* contains extravagant claims for the importance of the frontier in the history of American letters, but of the various works dealing with specialized aspects of the topic which appeared as a result of the theory only one seems of permanent worth to the scholar, namely, R. L. Rusk's study of *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (1925), and this work proves beyond a doubt how little concerned were the earliest writers of the section with any spirit of the wilderness. Of late, the frontier theory seems to have faded from the minds of historians working in the fields of history and of literature, but unquestionably the idea served, for a while, to stimulate research, whatever the permanent results of that research may be.

More recently certain students of American literature have been influenced by a third historical concept, namely, ideological historiography. In part this influence owes a debt to the so-called New Humanist critics, like Paul Elmer More and Irving Babbitt, who looked upon ideas rather than facts as the proper subject of literary study. A number of the students of American letters, as well as a group primarily interested in English literature, have in recent years become converts to the school; and a few of them have made contributions to literary history as well as to criticism. They have sought to relate American novels, verse, and essays to the

progress of ideas — particularly those of a religious or philosophical nature. Now, the history of religious and philosophical thought in the United States has, to date, developed even less scholarship than has the study of American literature, and the exponents of ideological historiography have often plunged beyond their depth in the vast area of the unknown. As a consequence, even when the field of study has been narrowed to an individual author or otherwise limited, frequently their efforts have been based upon a *priori* conceptions rather than upon facts; and criticism rather than history has been the result. It is interesting to observe in passing that some of the chief protagonists of this school have indulged themselves lately in the writing of textbooks. Ideological historiography, however, may well appear to be the ultimate goal of the combined efforts of historians dealing with all conceivable subjects, of which literature is only one — perhaps a Utopian ideal. But at the present time it seems that the pursuit of the history of ideas as they have affected American literature may well be confined only to such authors as themselves possessed important ideas in realms other than literature.

The recent studies in the field of American literature made by scholars influenced by various types of historical methodology may in the long run prove helpful to such literary annalists as appear in the future to combine and synthesize special studies into a more general history; but it seems more likely that future scholars will profit more by the efforts of the professional bibliographers and the few students, removed from the area of methodological theory, who are now grinding away at the slow accumulation of facts and the slow correction of errors perpetrated by journalistic-minded writers. Sound biographies of authors like Melville, Emily Dickinson, Henry James, and Longfellow will have to be written before anyone can hope to deal successfully with the history of American literature, whatever his conceptions of method may be.

The chief menace to the further development of scholarship dealing with American literature, however, is not the various fads and fancies which periodically renovate historical method but the activities of the journalists. So long as Pseudo-Freudians or Marxists can produce distorted or half-baked literary history to bolster up works which command a fairly wide sale without being challenged immediately by intelligent and informed critics actually to prove at least half of what they say, the small company of scholars working in the field will have to grow much larger in number to produce any very noticeable effect — or enlist the services of European, particularly English, students to lend respectability to their mild protests. At the present time the condescending attitude toward their cause exhibited by most of the English faculties of American colleges or universities would be distinctly improved if Oxford or Cambridge would establish a professorship of American literature. Such a step on the part of an English university would probably stir up intelligent American interest in the study of the national literature in much the same fashion as the labors of Sir William Craigie and his fellow-workers have lately stimulated American research in the field of the English language in the United States.

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Dr. Johnson and the Religious Problem

(Addendum)

The following is a list of the works repeatedly cited in *Dr. Johnson and the Religious Problem* (English Studies, XX, 1.):

- Johnsonian Gleanings*, by Aleyn Reade, privately printed, 7 vols., London, 1909-1935.
Life - - - Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. G. B. Hill, revised by L. F. Powell, 6 vols., Oxford, 1934.
Miscellanies - - - Johnsonian Miscellanies, ed. G. B. Hill, 2 vols., Oxford, 1897.
Letters - - - Letters of Samuel Johnson LL.D., ed. G. B. Hill, 2 vols., Oxford, 1892.
Works - - - The Works of Samuel Johnson LL.D., (ed. F. P. Walesby), 9 vols., London and Oxford, 1825.

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English Studies in Belgium. The University of Liège is to be congratulated on the appointment of Mlle Simonne T.R.O. d'Ardenne as successor to the late Professor Joseph Mansion, whose death was recorded in the December number of *English Studies*. Professor d'Ardenne has won great distinction in the field of Middle English scholarship by her edition of *De Liflade ant te Passiun of Seinte Iulienne* (Liège-Paris 1936), which was described in the Oxford journal *Medium Ævum* (June 1937) as 'a work of great originality and penetration', 'the most important edition of a Middle English text that has been published up to the present time.' We are glad to say that, like her predecessor, Professor d'Ardenne has promised to contribute to our journal.

Reviews

American Literary History

Die englische Literatur der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika. By DR. WALTHER FISCHER, Professor an der Universität Giessen. (Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, hgb. von Oskar Walzel.) 134 pp. 4°. Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion m.b.H. 1929. RM. 10.80.

What is American Literature? By CARL VAN DOREN. viii and 141 pp. 8°. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. 1935. 3/6.

A Literary History of the American People. By CHARLES ANGOFF. In Four Volumes. Vol. I: From 1607 to the Beginning of the Revolutionary Period. Vol. II: From 1750 to 1815. xiv and 391 and xix pp.; ix and 400 and xvii pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1931. \$10.—.

American Literature as an Expression of the National Mind. By RUSSELL BLANKENSHIP. xviii and 731 pp. New York: Henry Holt & Co. [1931]. \$4.—.

The First Century of American Literature 1770-1870. By FRED LEWIS PATTEE. viii and 613 pp. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc. 1935. \$3.50.

The New American Literature 1890-1930. By FRED LEWIS PATTEE. 515 pp. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc. 1930. \$3.50.

"Rejecting from consideration John Neal's random sketches of American writers in *Blackwood's Magazine* of 1824, the first regular history of American letters was made by Samuel Lorenzo Knapp — his *Lectures on American Literature* (1829). Knapp was a Dartmouth man, class of 1804; Charles Francis Richardson, maker of the first systematic presentation of American literary history, was also a Dartmouth man, class of 1871. Beginning with *A Primer of American Literature* (1878), he finished his work with a two-volume *History of American Literature* (1886-1888).

"Richardson was a pioneer scholar. Elected to the Winkley Chair of English at Dartmouth in 1883 — a graceful way of saying that he was made the entire department of English in a college of four hundred students — one of his earliest acts was to add to the curriculum a three-hour course in American literature. The radical nature of this step it is hard today to realize. Hardly a college in the country had recognized the subject. Kate Sanborn, daughter of Richardson's eminent predecessor in the Winkley Chair, had in 1880 established at Smith College a lecture course in what she called "*American Belles Lettres*". Moses Coit Tyler in 1881 was offering at the University of Michigan that course disguised as *American History*, which afterward was to be published as a literary history of the Colonial Period. A year later, in 1883, Professor J. C. Freeman of the University of Wisconsin was lecturing on the New England writers. Beyond these I can find in American colleges no courses, and among American publications no other works on the subject".

Thus the first two paragraphs of Prof. Pattee's Preface to his *First Century*. To which might be added: The first man to teach English literature at an English college with anything like our modern sense of historical perspective was Thomas Warton the Elder, who became professor of poetry at Oxford in 1718. The first man to write a history of English poetry was his son Thomas, whose work first appeared in 1774 — something like a thousand years after there appeared any work of English literature to write about! From this point of view the surprising thing about American literary history is not its tardiness in appearing, but rather the promptitude with which it came forward and took its place beside the political history of the country. The political historian is not bound to standards of excellence as the literary historian is. The warring of the colonists was not, from the point of view of "quality", appreciably better than their writing; but it was "history", while the other was not literature. The works produced by the Colonial writers are today a part of the civilization of the time, but not a part of American literature. Literary

history, as its early development shows, arose out of the need of one generation to understand the great figures of another. In England it was the interest of the Eighteenth Century in Shakespeare, Spenser and Milton, finding support in Gothic architecture and antiquarian lore, that finally led to a history of literature. In America, great figures had first to appear and to pass, before a history of American literature was possible. And then it appeared immediately. When, according to Prof. Pattee, Richardson began the first college course in American literature in 1883, the first generation of really important American writers were hardly cold in their graves. When Richardson was born Irving and Cooper probably, Bryant certainly, were still living, while Emerson's generation was still accepted by the great majority of educated Americans as the latest thing in letters. And Emerson's generation was only the second since the beginning of really important work in the New World!

Far from being late in its appearance, American literary history might almost be said to have appeared too early on the scene. One or two generations are not enough to insure the experience necessary for balance and lasting judgments. The early American writers on the development of their literature had to supplement their knowledge of American letters with that of English literature to get the needed perspective, and the result was rather a history of English literature in America than one of American literature. Hence, largely, the revolt of the post-war years, the "revaluation" of American literature that has been going on now for almost twenty years. New generations of writers, chiefly men like Walt Whitman and Mark Twain, have made new standards necessary, standards that will include work that has no counterpart in the British tradition and that consequently may be regarded as "peculiarly American". That the revolt should originate among the poets and novelists and critics, the men who are, for better or for worse, creating the new literature, is hardly a cause for lament. "Theirs not to reason why"; they are fighting a battle for recognition, repeating in a modern way what their progenitors did in the old way. The influence of the modern press, to be sure, is a bane. The journalist who, as Pattee says, has to say nine when he means three, is not only a bad critic in the ordinary sense of being very far removed from that "objectivity" which insures lasting acceptance, but he is often enough a downright insincere and consciously misleading critic. "Pep" has little regard for facts, and facts are still the most crying need in American literary history, as Dr. Gohdes points out on another page of this number. Yet the popular appeal of the revaluation movement, though it may be irritating at times, should not discourage serious work. American criticism, though it may never have been less addicted to facts, certainly never has been so lively as it is today, and the wealth of ideas that fill the American literary atmosphere — though the great majority of them need adjustment and correction — should be an inspiration to the academic research worker rather than an impedient. As a matter of fact, "pep" has crept into work that is otherwise thoroughly academic to a remarkable degree. One or two of the works to be reviewed here are a case in point.

Professor Walter Fischer's book was done under particularly unfavorable circumstances — immediately after the War, at a time when, of American texts, hardly more than the collected editions of the popular

classical writers were to be had in Germany and critical books were practically inaccessible. It is a marvel that he carried out his undertaking to such a successful conclusion. He does not arrange his material on any fast principle; Colonial literature is presented on a geographical scheme: South, North and Middle Colonies; the Revolutionary period is divided into political and non-political literature; the classical period (1815-1865) is again drawn up on geographical lines, while the national period (since 1865) is arranged according to literary categories: poetry, short-story, novel, etc. The plan is practical, though conventional, and offers an easy orientation for the Continental student. An element of surprise is the appearance of a Pennsylvania section in the classical period, and the placing of Walt Whitman in it. Obviously the section was created for him, since he fills almost the whole chapter. But the undeniably romantic elements in his work hardly justify his position alongside of dramatists like Bird and Boker and poets and translators like Thomas Buchanan Reid and Bayard Taylor. Whitman himself would have scoffed at the idea of being called a "classic", and if there was one poet who regarded himself as "national" in the sense of the generation of 1870 it was Whitman.

But otherwise the plan of the book deserves full praise. The author had a limited task before him and only limited space to do it in. He chose the only feasible way, treating important figures fully, adding short remarks on secondary personages and offering a few names in the third rank for perspective and suggestion. The latter feature naturally has a tendency to grow as the book advances down the century, and the modern period inevitably runs into a mass of names and a more or less personal distribution of accents. Most of them are still valid; Dreiser and Lewis and Mencken have their secure position, as well as O'Neill and Frost, however much they may be debatable in detail. But Zona Gale and Carl Van Vechten have surely already dropped out of the first rank. Henry James, of course, counts as an American, though his — or our — claims in that respect are but slim.

In spite of its title the book attempts an analysis of American literature as an expression of the American mind and the general cultural background is not neglected. The author knows his subject at first hand and his judgment is in all essential respects independent. He offers a very fair and dispassionate appraisal of Mark Twain, avoiding extremes in either direction. The same may be said of Melville, who is accepted as one of the pillars of American romanticism, and Freneau, whose importance as pre-romantic is duly stressed. Such appraisals, however, do not deter the author from strictures and his view of Melville's work in detail is not always sympathetic. He places high value on the philosophy of a book or a writer, stressing wherever possible his place in the development of American thought. It is a palpable relapse into convention, therefore, when he points out Longfellow's shortcomings in this respect and still gives him as much space as Melville.

The book is profusely and interestingly illustrated, though mistakes and misprints are not rare (p. 43: John Neal died in 1876; p. 88: Whitman had his stroke in 1873; the photograph on p. 70 contains only the Capitol, the building behind it being the Library of Congress; and the woodcut of Cincinnati on p. 53 is probably modern and the date 1810 therefore misleading).

"This little book, published in California in 1933 and in New York in 1935, now crosses the Atlantic for a third edition". Thus Prof. Van Doren begins his short preface to explain that the book was intended as an introduction to American literature for foreign readers and as an emphasis on the essentials for the native reader who knows his literature. But far from being a leathery text-book, it gives in a series of short, brilliant sketches of individuals and epochs a firm and clear outline of the course of literature in America. It is divided into five chapters, the post-war developments being added in a "Supplement for English Readers". The chapter-headings denote the phases of American literature: Colonial, National, Continental, Imperial and Critical, and the connotation, at first a little startling, is just. The chapter entitled Continental, e.g., contains the important names of the mid-century, from Emerson and Hawthorne to Poe and Melville, whilst Whitman begins the Imperial chapter. It goes without saying that the vignettes offered are suggestive rather than final and occasionally a slip in facts occurs (*The Education of Henry Adams* appeared in 1913, not toward the end of the War). But the book is not only an excellent introduction for the foreign, especially the Continental university student, who will find the short bibliography very useful, but delightful reading for the connoisseur, even when he does not quite agree — which, however, is rare.

The sponsor of Mr. Angoff's book is Henry L. Mencken, who, as the author states in the preface, read the proofs of the first volume twice and parts of it three times. Comparing this statement with the book itself, it is safe to conclude that Mr. Mencken has here caused some young man to do a job he did not find time to do himself. For apart from the style, which is full of "Menckenesse", the spirit is clearly that of the *Prejudices* and the *American Mercury*. The first two volumes, those here under review, are essentially an elaborate attack on the Puritan tradition in American literature which found its fullest expression in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Puritanism, however, is not defined with any historical precision. Though the usual reference to Calvin is made, there is no attempt to distinguish between various Puritan groups — not even between the Congregationalists and Presbyterians of Plymouth and Boston — and "Puritanism" remains throughout merely a negative term of opprobrium: narrow-mindedness and intolerance in religious, moral and intellectual affairs. In other words, it is the language of modern journalism, and it is in this spirit that the author takes up the various writers and their work and examines them.

Angoff starts out with a statement in his General Introduction that the literature of the American colonies is not really literature at all and not worth talking about. Then he devotes two rather large volumes to it, in order, as he says, "to prove its badness". A revaluation of Colonial literature, therefore, is his object, a revaluation downwards as a corrective to its over-estimation by such Puritans as Moses Coit Tyler, and a revaluation, moreover, from the point of view of modern taste. A work's present-day readableness seems to be the only criterion applied, and though the book is shot through with "historical introductions" — drawn mainly from recent and more or less popular books on American history and never betraying any original researches of the author's own — there is no real attempt made at historical interpretation. Much of the historical matter has

very little bearing on the literature it is meant to illuminate. In the General Introduction the author makes much of the aesthetic point of view in treating of works of literary art; but his own critical vocabulary is restricted almost entirely to the three degrees of two adjectives, viz. "good" and "bad", and their colloquial variations ("great", "horrible", etc.). Instead, there are quotations; and in order to "prove the badness" of a classic like the New England Primer, the author devotes more than two pages to quotations from it!

Economy, obviously, is not his strong suit. The very long, often page-long quotations would be a dead weight on a reasoned development of a historical sequence. But apparently the quotations are as important as, if not more important than, the text; they certainly are more valuable. The text itself is anything but concise; it rambles along in a slipshod way, full of repetitions introduced by such phrases as "As I said before", etc. Joel Barlow's flight from England to France because of the publication of his *Advice to the Privileged Classes* in 1793 is told three times on as many pages. The book is not a history, properly speaking, at all, but a rambling chronicle of books and personages. It is intended to fill four volumes; the first two bring the story down to 1915 and contain what the author himself might call the unliterary portion of his task. The third, however, is to cover the field from Thanatopsis to McTeague, practically all there is of American literature to be treated historically! The dates are chosen for two strangely disparate reasons: in 1815 the country first became conscious of its national power, and McTeague is the "herald of American realism"! Volume four is to treat of the literature of our own day.

The critical marks dealt out by the author can hardly be discussed. Aside from the *de gustibus* that applies here with special force, the writers and works under consideration are so unimportant, in themselves and apart from a general view of Colonial culture, that differences of opinion are hardly worth while. The author's general thesis that Colonial literature has been over-estimated in the past may be accepted as correct; but a more exact historical method and at least a finer sense of literary values would greatly aid in the process.

With his *First Century of American Literature* Prof. Pattee now finishes a series of publications originally likewise intended to represent a "Literary History of the American People". Regarded as such, its lack of proportion is as grave as in the case of Angoff's book. The first volume, appearing in 1915, covered the twenty years from 1870 to 1890. The second, appearing fifteen years later, carried the story down to 1930, covering forty years. The book on the American short story takes up the most important single aspect of American literature by itself. The final volume covers a whole century, five times as much as the first! And since the century in question saw all the great men of American letters before Whitman, it is not merely a matter of quantitative measurement. The stress is laid with emphasis on the newer literature and that seems to be not merely a result of the desultory publication of the books. Pattee's work shows a splendid range of interest and observation within his chosen field. He, more than any one else, has beaten up the bye-paths and road-side tangles of popular literature and broadened the perspectives, especially in the earlier and more historical parts of his history. But at the same time he shows perhaps more than

anybody else the influence of present-day criticism. His tone is actually "peppy," and he has a knack of racy formulation that is refreshing and exhilarating. His books are readable far above the academic average, and his judgments have the persuasive simplicity of good journalistic criticism. How much he is dependent on the valuations of the criticism of the day is shown by the lengthy chapter on Melville stuck into the beginning of the 1930 volume; in 1915, when the previous book was published, Melville had not yet been discovered.

This, however, is only a slight stricture on what is undoubtedly the richest and most suggestive and generally the most satisfying history of American literature now to be had. Pattee's judgments, his portraits of men and books, might often be richer in detail. The picture of Cooper, for instance, is extremely vivid and persuasive so far as it goes, but it is built up on a single trait, his truculence, while a personality of Cooper's experience and intellectual range should show more facets. But a more differentiated criticism, putting in more details would hardly retain the refreshing force and vitality of Pattee's method. And his judgments are in themselves often new and stimulating; Freneau has become a new man after his treatment of him. The method may be essentially impressionistic and, in so far, subjective. But it imparts warmth and color and outline, the artistic qualities without which literary research remains a dead letter.

The lack of these is one of the main faults of Prof. Blankenship's otherwise well-balanced and useful volume. When he published the book, the author was a professor in one of the small colleges of the State of Washington, which means, of course, that he is a pupil of Parrington. Parrington's influence is as prevalent in Blankenship as Mencken's in Angoff, but for the purpose in hand the former is not so devastating as the latter. The tone of cheap jauntiness, however, that crops up especially in the preface, seems to point to lower levels still — the campus, probably. Brought up in Parrington's schooling, the author, far from spurning Colonial literature as being valueless "as literature" — as Pattee does, by the way, — introduces his presentation of "The Mind of Colonial America" with seventy-five pages of background: physical, racial and intellectual. The Colonial period, which includes such men as Freneau, Barlow and Brackenridge, leads straight to Romanticism, which again includes Whitman. Such inclusions are possible, of course, but not really practical since they shift the stress to where it is useless. To place Whitman before such names as Hawthorne and Melville in the chronological order is, moreover, extremely misleading, and the bracketing of these two by themselves as novelists while Cooper, Simms, and other writers of novels are listed under regional chapters argues a strange weakness in planning. And what sense of proportion gave Hawthorne seven and Melville fourteen pages, Emerson thirteen and Whitman twenty? But on the whole, balance is the main virtue of the book.

As a critic Dr. Blankenship does not shine; a few dips into his text show his peculiar notions on this score. His introductory paragraphs on Romanticism are a strange muddle of various strains of Eighteenth Century thought, most of which have little to do with what Romanticism essentially is. On p. 209 Kennedy's *Swallow Barn*, because it deals with the little things of life on a Southern plantation, is set down as romantic. On p. 212

John Esten Cooke's novels are depreciated because he introduced "too great an aristocratic element in his books and too little frontier leaven" — which is "going Parrington" with a vengeance! On p. 236 Simms committed the same crime, while the final verdict on the poor fellow puts him somewhere near Nick Carter (p. 237). Hayne, who wrote "frequently of nature and allied objects" (p. 238), is treated more generously and even placed, in a vague way, beside Wordsworth. In the chapter on Whitman popularity comes dangerously near to being accepted as the criterion of value, while on p. 491 the author opines that, in the long run, Howells's timidity was beneficial "to the welfare of the realistic movement".

The bane of this book is its campus level and that seems to be, in American literary history, the Scylla to the Charybdis of journalism. The historian of American literature has to steer a course between the two — the college boy and the general reader — for they are the only public available for such books.

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

The Old World and the New, A Synopsis of Current European Views on American Civilisation. By WILLIAM T. SPOERRI. (Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten, 3. Band.) 237 pp. Max Niehans Verlag, Zürich und Leipzig. 1936. Sw. fr. 6.50.

The book consists of a two-page Introduction, explaining the author's object — 'to diagnose the various reactions ... of some eminent European observers' (p. 8); seven chapters on seven types of these eminent people; and a one-and-a-half page Conclusion — 'horror of reality and hunger for romance ... the key to the American character It ought to prove, if anything, that America liveth not by bread alone' (p. 232). If anything. There is a bibliography of just over three pages.

The first chapter is on Scientific Investigators — André Siegfried, Firmin Roz, Friedrich Schönmann. Discussion, as in the other chapters, is under heads such as The Melting Pot, Man and Machine, Democracy, Religion, Culture. We are not told what scientific method the Scientific Investigators use, nor what science they are investigating: indeed, it is difficult to understand why Siegfried is scientific and Shaw is not — Shaw is dealt with in a later chapter. Is it because M. Siegfried is cautiously in favour of capitalism and Mr. Shaw is a convinced socialist? The second chapter is about the brightly chatty reporters Paul Morand and André Maurois; the third, about the darkly chatty 'Prophets of Doom' — W. R. Inge, G. Duhamel, Müller-Freienfels. The fourth chapter, on Literary Critics, which students of English might be expected to find the most interesting, is confined to two books — Prof. R. Michaud's Sorbonne lectures of 1926 on the modern American novel, and Ludwig Lewisohn's *Expression in America*. And of these two, why is Ludwig Lewisohn there at all? He was born in 1882 and was taken to America in 1890. Does Dr. Spoerri mean that little Ludwig, at the age of eight, was capable of a Current European View on American Civilisation? The fifth chapter is on Con-

trast Critics — so called because they 'stress the contrast between American and European civilisation' (p. 131): L. Romier, G. K. Chesterton, H. Belloc; the sixth on Social Reformers — G. B. Shaw, H. G. Wells, Count Hermann Keyserling; and the seventh on Satirists — E. Linklater, D. Woodruff, L. F. Céline.

The method used is an account — partly by citation, partly by Dr. Spoerri's summary, in one case by summary taken from the *Times Literary Supplement* (pp. 207-8), for Dr. Spoerri feels happier with other people's words than with his own — of the books Dr. Spoerri has selected. This procedure would have had more value if the author had made some consistent attempt at indicating similarities and differences; but he has contented himself with the vaguest cross-reference, e.g. 'Contrast with Romier!' (p.46); 'cf. Duhamel's opposing view' (pp. 64, 204); 'Cf. Müller-Freienfels' theory of depersonalization' (p. 143); 'cf. Roz, Maurois, Müller-Freienfels, Chesterton' (p. 155); 'Cf. Maurois, Belloc, Firmin Roz, H. G. Wells' (p. 186). The reader needs reference to the page in Dr. Spoerri's work; and there is no index to assist him in following either authors or subjects. Dr. Spoerri does not refrain altogether from comment; neither does he comment with any principle in mind: he merely interposes occasional remarks of this kind: 'The subconscious ascendancy of the eternal mother over mankind is not limited to the U.S.A., and it is doubtful whether Adam would be able to create anything at all without Eve's constant inspiration' (p. 40). 'The American press does enjoy a certain amount of freedom within reasonable limits, witness Hearst's jingoism ...' (p. 45). It is exquisite to observe that Hearst's jingoism falls 'within reasonable limits'. 'In truth, there is much to be said in favour of this theory' (p. 71). This remark has not been dragged unfairly from its context: it stands like that, in sole imbecility, at the end of a chapter. 'In making us laugh at the antics of Americans, the common satirist of Dickens' type merely flatters our cultural superiority complex. But the more refined satirist of Linklater's type ...' (p. 205). What sort of value does Dr. Spoerri attach to 'common' and 'refined' here? Does he mean that *Juan in America* is a better book than *Martin Chuzzlewit* or *American Notes*? It is doubtful if even Mr. Linklater thinks that. Dr. Spoerri will quote from a French book now in French, now in English — pp. 59-60, 67, 87 — with no obvious reason for changing language. In short, his work, in detail as in general plan, indicates lack of method and that vulgarity of taste which is the inevitable accompaniment of the degeneration of literary criticism into advertisement. (Cf F. R. Leavis, *Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture*; Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public*.)

Three important omissions should be noted; they have chiefly to do with the current European view of American literature. Dr. Spoerri mentions English, French, German and Spanish views, but says nothing of the Russian view of America, although Mark Twain, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis and John dos Passos are enormously popular there. Dr. Spoerri could have found indications of this in the periodical *International Literature* and in *Problems of Soviet Literature* (1935). The primitivist approach to America is also lacking in Dr. Spoerri's book. He could have found it best expressed in D. H. Lawrence's *Studies in Classic American Literature* (New York 1923, London 1924) and *St. Mawr*, as well as in much of Lawrence's verse, e.g. in *Birds, Beasts and Flowers*.

The third omission is the leading article in the *Times Literary Supplement* no. 1777, 1936. This article dealt with an anthology *Proletarian Literature in the United States*, and a report of the American Writers' Congress 1935, with that title. This omission is particularly important, because it illuminates the main deficiency of Spoerri's book — that it is out of date. Most of the literature he summarises deals with the America of the boom years. The America of the slump and the New Deal presents a very different aspect, an aspect that has been expressed by the authors in the anthology and report just mentioned, authors already well-known in England, France and Russia.

And mention of this periodical article brings up another point. Some of the literature Dr. Spoerri reviews appeared in periodicals before it was published separately. Why, therefore, has he practically excluded periodicals? A list of the more important articles on America and reviews of American books in e.g. *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, the *Revue Anglo-Américaine*, the *Criterion*, and the *Times Literary Supplement* during the last ten years, with some comment on the more important tendencies of those articles and reviews, would have been most useful, and given him a more solid literary material. And he could have found valuable general material in such periodicals as — to give English examples — the *19th Century* and the *Political Quarterly*. It is dangerous to assume that because articles get published as a book they are therefore less ephemeral than articles that appear only in periodicals. Much of the periodical material I have mentioned is far less ephemeral than the mouthings of Keyserling or the chat of Morand and Maurois.

Dr. Spoerri's English is adequate, but he has not mastered the use of the continuous present: 'patches of local colour are shimmering through the discussion' (p. 15 l. 4-5); 'which we are missing in Europe' (p. 22 l. 19-20); 'Husbands and wives are following two separate currents' (p. 28 l. 15); and there are one or two other points, e.g. 'provoking a blame' (p. 37 l. 22); 'sports' sheets' for 'sports sheets' (p. 45 l. 11). The following misprints may be noted: p. 27 l. 32 'of' for 'or'; p. 89 l. 10-11, 'against' has been repeated; p. 98 l. 5 'autochthonous' for 'autochthonous'; p. 184 l. 5, the quotation marks are omitted.

Dr. Spoerri's book may be read with profit as an anthology of sometimes intelligent, often instructively inane remarks about the United States. A good deal can be gleaned about European ideas of that country up to 1929; but Europeans are now beginning to be interested in a very different America — the America of the Tennessee Valley Scheme, the American Writers' Congress, and the Committee for Industrial Organisation.

Lund.

A. H. KING.

Disraeli's Imperialismus und die Kolonialpolitik seiner Zeit.
 Von HANS RÜHL. (Palaestra 196.) Leipzig: Mayer and Müller.
 1935. 168 pages. RM. 11.60.

The book is an account of the development of Disraeli's imperialism, concluding with an analysis of the same. The account may be summarized as follows:

As a young man, Disraeli was converted to Imperialism during his travels in the Levant (*Alroy* is an Imperialistic document). On his entry into political life he at once identified himself with the cause of Imperialism and combated the separatism of the Liberals and the political materialism of the Benthamites. He attempted to educate the public to a realization of the grandeur of the colonial Empire. About 1850 we find him advocating a programme involving free trade within the Empire and Colonial representation in the Westminster Parliament. Disappointment at his failure to convert the party chiefs to this programme turned him for a time into a pessimist, until the growth of Imperial feeling ab. 1870 encouraged him to take up the cause again. The Crystal Palace Speech in 1872 marks the culmination of his Imperialist career: when he came into power he was sidetracked by his dream of Eastern Empire.

In my opinion, Dr. Rühl exaggerates the importance of the Imperialist motif in Disraeli's career. By extracting the passages in his letters and speeches in which the colonies are mentioned one can make them look considerably more impressive than they really are. The perspective is involuntarily distorted, and one forgets that these subjects, after all, take up only a relatively small proportion of the volumes in question. Disraeli's absorbing interest was not colonial, but foreign politics. He was interested in India, because India was an important factor in foreign policy, but he was not much interested in the White colonies, and he was hardly interested in any colony for its own sake. It is easy to extract passages from Monypenny & Buckle about "the Empire created by the valour and devotion of their forefathers", etc., but these passages prove nothing. They are peroration stuff, part of the political speaker's stock-in-trade. Nor does it prove any great concern about the colonies that Disraeli sometimes urges against some free trade measure that it will break up the Empire. That is not so much evidence of his love of the colonies as of his dislike of free trade.

How much these utterances are worth is seen from the following passages from his private letters, the first of them written in a year when his election address contained a reference to the desirability of preserving the Empire:

These wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years, and are a mill-stone round our necks. (1852).

Power and influence we should exercise in Asia; consequently in Eastern Europe, consequently also in Western Europe; but what is the use of these colonial dead-weights which we do not govern Leave the Canadians to defend themselves; recall the West African squadron; give up the settlements on the West Coast of Africa, and we shall make a saving which will, at the same time, enable us to build ships and have a good budget. (1866).

These may be mere "petulant outbursts" and may not indicate any deep-rooted tendency towards separatism, but they certainly do not indicate any deep-rooted Imperialist feeling. Could one imagine Seeley or Rosebery writing like that? Passages in private letters are, of course, much better

evidence of the writer's real opinions than platform speeches, in which he has to exercise a certain amount of discretion. And how was it that, while Disraeli maintained that the grant of self-government to Canada was merely a subterfuge to get rid of her, he did nothing to prevent a Conservative Ministry, of which he was himself a prominent member, from granting it to New Zealand?

I also believe that Dr. Rühl makes far too much out of the passages in which Disraeli speaks of free trade within the Empire and Colonial representation at Westminster when he exalts them to the dignity of a "programme". They are merely casual suggestions (the one about Imperial free trade Disraeli mentions as having occurred to him in the train), and they are mostly coupled with some remark about their being useful for party purposes:

Were it possible, it would be a great element of future strength for the Conservative Party.

It would allow us to prevent, perhaps, the increase of the town or democratic power.

Incidentally, both ideas were quite impracticable: Disraeli never shows anything like the grasp of colonial affairs exhibited by the Colonial Reformers whom he pretended to regard as separatists.

But not only is it an error to describe Disraeli as an Imperialist during the 40's and 50's; it would be an error to describe any other Englishman as an Imperialist during that time: Imperialism, in any real sense, is a product of the late 60's.

On the whole, it is not quite clear what Dr. Rühl understands by Imperialism. It is e.g. difficult to see what he means when he calls *Alroy* an Imperialistic book. He never defines the word, and he sometimes appears to use it about any kind of acquisitive foreign policy. In consequence a large part of the book is taken up by summary accounts of such well-known matters as the Russian Crisis of 1878, the Afghan War, and the First Annexation of the Transvaal. He has studied Disraeli's alleged Imperialistic utterances too much *in vacuo*, with too little reference to the rest of his activities or to the history of British Imperialistic thought. His account of the fall of separatism is e.g. very meagre, and appears to be almost wholly derived from a chapter in Duncan Hall's *The British Commonwealth of Nations*.

Dr. Rühl is rightly critical of the Crystal Palace Speech, in which Disraeli declared that the grant of colonial self-government ought to have been accompanied by an Imperial tariff, Imperial control of waste lands, and an obligation to assist the mother country in case of war. Any of these demands would, in fact, probably have resulted in declarations of independence. The whole speech is clearly a move in the party game, an attempt to annex a popular policy for the Conservative party and to paint the Liberals (quite unjustly) as the sole representatives of separatism.

The author's attitude to Disraeli is a little puzzling. In the greater part of the book he is wholly admiring. He even gives Peel, and not Disraeli, the whole blame for the disruption of the Conservative Party after the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and though he cites some adverse comments on English foreign policy during the crisis of 1878, he contrasts Disraeli's vigorous foreign policy favourably with the "slackness" of that of his

Liberal predecessors. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find Disraeli described in the preface as "the demoniac Jew, who made English policy preponderantly Asiatic in the interests of his own people", an idea which is further elaborated in three pages at the end of the book. That the man whom English Conservatives still regard as their greatest leader was actuated by considerations of Jewish nationalism rather than of British interests is an assertion so fantastic that it is difficult to believe that the author means it to be taken seriously, and the charitable reader may perhaps take it as a perfunctory bow to the official ideology of the country in which the book was published. In any case, these passages remain serious blots on a book which, whatever one may object to in detail, is otherwise written in a scholarly spirit.

Copenhagen.

C. A. BODELSEN.

Die Zukunft des britischen Weltreichs. Von REINALD HOOPS.
(Schriftenreihe der preussischen Jahrbücher, Heft 45.) 188 pages.
Berlin: Georg Stilke. 1937. RM. 5.50.

Dr. Hoops' book is not so much about the future as about the present state of the British Empire. The problems of its principal constituent parts are passed in review. Special attention is given to problems of military strategy, and the emphasis is on the events of the last 4 or 5 years. The account goes up to March 1937. In the course of less than 200 pages, the writer succeeds in giving a survey of his subject which is at the same time detailed and readable, and which should be especially useful to political journalists. His book supplies a real want: there is no earlier work exactly like it, even in English, and one has to go through many volumes of periodicals like the Round Table in order to find the same information. With few exceptions, it is written in a sober spirit, with little political or national bias. It is, on the whole, sympathetic to British colonial policy.

The plan on which the book is written has entailed the splitting up of subjects which it would have been better to treat together. Thus there are good accounts of the tariff policies of each Dominion, but no general survey of the Preference movement and its economic background. The same applies to emigration. There is nothing about British imperialism in general, and, rather surprisingly, very little about the problem of the former German colonies. There is no general treatment of the colonial nationalism which is the dominant factor in the relations between the mother country and the Dominions.

The chief defect of the book is that it is too much on the surface. It presents facts, but it does not interpret them or explain their inner meaning. There is e.g. no attempt to trace the economic and moral forces behind British colonial policy, or to present a balance sheet of British Imperialism. The writer's judgements of national character and the like are sometimes over-simplified; for instance he takes it for granted that the anti-war attitude of England and the Dominions is a symptom of decadence, and he thinks that the present rearmament movement is a sign that England is

entering on a phase of "national regeneration" similar to that of Germany.

The book contains a good deal of information about the economic life of the Dominions, but here again there is a certain lack of synthesis and understanding. There is e.g. no attempt to explain the interplay of economic forces in Europe and the overseas countries, such as the way in which the growth of the population and output of the latter depends on the industrial development of Europe. On the contrary, Dr. Hoops seems to share the views of romantic imperialists like Froude, who wanted a race of sturdy colonial peasants to make up for the alleged deterioration of the industrial population at home. He regrets the absence of a real peasant mentality in the Dominions, and on p. 70 he says that the latter ought to stop thinking about markets for a time, and think of producing healthy men and women instead. But how can the Dominions support men and women, whether healthy or not, unless they can provide them with a living, and how can they provide them with a living if they cannot find markets for the goods they produce? Unless Australians and Canadians can be taught to eat wool and wood pulp, it is difficult to see how the growth of the Australian and Canadian populations can avoid being conditioned by the presence of export markets for their goods. Dr. Hoops may be right in thinking that colonial farmers are less attached to the soil and have less sense of the dignity of agricultural labour than the Germans, but when he cites phrases like "the agricultural industries" to prove the materialistic outlook of the Dominion farmer, he is merely making the mistake of translating an English word by a German one to which it is not equivalent at all.

The shortcomings of the book may partly be due to the fact that the author is so very little of a historian (he makes such surprising statements as that England "went over to Free Trade" in 1906 — p. 17). He knows his present-day facts, but he does not know, or is not interested in, the way those facts have come about. It would, however, be a mistake to let the above defects blind one to the very real service Dr. Hoops has rendered students of the modern political and military problems of the Empire.

Copenhagen.

C. A. BODELSEN.

James Thomson's Influence on Swedish Literature in the Eighteenth Century. By WALTER GILBERT JOHNSON. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature Vol. XIX, Nos. 3-4.) 202 pp. 1936. Price \$2.50.

It is not very often that Swedish literary historians make studies in comparative literature, but since Swedish literature has always been largely dependent on foreign literature, any examiner of a piece of poetry, the whole work of an author, or a literary current will give in his treatise valuable contributions to the study of the influence of foreign writers on Swedish literature. This fact is excellently illustrated in the English poet whose influence on Swedish literature an American scholar, Walter Gilbert Johnson, has attempted to determine in the work we are here concerned with.

It has long been clear to historians of Swedish literature that the well-

known author of *The Seasons* has played a certain part in the Swedish landscape poetry of the 18th century. But opinions on the extent of this influence have been largely divergent. Whereas it was formerly supposed that Thomson exercised a great and decisive influence on Swedish descriptive poetry in the 18th century, Professor M. Lamm in a detailed and suggestive survey of nature poetry in older Swedish literature, made in his monograph on J. G. Oxenstierna (1911), the most characteristic representative of the genre created by Thomson, maintained that the importance of the Scottish poet for Swedish literature had been exaggerated. Professor Lamm doubted whether Creutz, when in 1756 he wrote *Sommar-qvåde* (*On Summer*), the first example of genuine landscape-poetry in Sweden, was acquainted with Thomson at all. The points of correspondence formerly observed between Creutz and Thomson were according to Lamm explained by the fact that the two poets had had a common model, Pope's *Windsor Forest*. Lamm also minimised Thomson's influence in his analysis of Oxenstierna's two great nature poems, *Dagens stunder* (*The Times of the Day*), and *Skördarna* (*The Harvests*).

Again, in his earlier work on Olof von Dalin (1908) Lamm had tried to show that the theory of an influence from Thomson's *Liberty* in Dalin's epic poem *Swenska Friheten* (*Swedish Liberty*) which had formerly been accepted by literary research, did not hold good on a narrow examination. The similarities between the two poems were due also here to their derivation from a common model, Voltaire's *Henriade*. In one important point Lamm's opinion has been revised by Prof. G. Castrén, who has incontrovertibly shown that Creutz must have known *The Seasons* when he wrote *Sommar-qvåde*, and that he made use of Thomson's poem. This has been admitted by Professor Lamm in his chapter on poetical landscape-painting in the 18th century in his great work *Upplysningstidens romantik, I, (Romanticism in the Age of Enlightenment, 1918)*. But in other points Lamm's view of Thomson's importance for Swedish literature in the 18th century has not been contradicted. It is obvious that this question, which has been discussed in various places but has not been the object of any special, more detailed examination, is well worth considering. The manner in which Mr. Johnson has done this, however, seems to me to give reason for some comment.

For one thing the plan of Mr. Johnson's work may be criticized. Since the question of Thomson's rôle in Swedish literature has been so much debated, the author should have given an introductory *exposé* of the Thomson discussions in Swedish literary history. The author, who appears to be well acquainted with these discussions, much more so than is shown by the express references to previous scholars¹, has not taken the opportunity of presenting a retrospective "Forschungsbericht" of this kind. This is probably due to the principle of disposition which Mr. Johnson has followed. He treats in chronological order the various Swedish authors who have been influenced by Thomson or have translated him. Each of these writers has a chapter to himself. It may be questioned whether it would not have been a less mechanical and more fertile method to take Thomson's works as a starting-point and examine his influence on Swedish literature, first as a nature poet (*The Seasons*) and secondly as a politico-

¹ Compare e.g. pp. 110-111 in Mr. Johnson's book with pp. 69-70 in Martin Lamm, *J. G. Oxenstierna*.
E. S. XX. 1938.

patriotic epic poet (*Liberty* and *Britannia*). Further it would have been a good thing if the author had collected in one chapter all the remarks and statements on the Scottish poet and his work that are to be found in Swedish letters, autobiographical literature, newspapers, and magazines, and if he had also in this connection given an account of translations and direct imitations. In such a chapter the author might have collected the material which he has now spread out over three short chapters, VI-VII and IX.

In every comparative study of the present kind the scholar has naturally to be extremely cautious and suspicious of himself. He must not for a moment forget the important distinction between real dependence and parallel development. On the other hand it is quite natural that the person who performs this kind of investigation should want to state an influence as great and as strong as possible from the author he has taken as his starting-point. Here there is a temptation for every comparativist, to which, as far as I can judge, Mr. Johnson has given way several times. If originally Lamm to a certain extent underestimated Thomson's importance for Swedish literature, Mr. Johnson has made him play a part greater than he really took. It would take us too long to point out the different passages where one feels called upon to put a note of interrogation in the margin. A few examples may suffice to show the author's inclination to turn general similarity into dependence and connection. The examples are taken from Chapters II and III, which in my opinion are the weakest in the book.

As has already been mentioned, Professor Lamm in his treatise on Dalin holds that the epic of the Swedish poet called *Swenska Friheten* only presents very general conformities with Thomson's *Liberty*, and that these can be explained by the model common to both of them, Voltaire's *Henriade*. Mr. Johnson now deviates from the hypothesis of Lamm and tries to show that the early scholars were right in putting in close connection with one another the Swedish and the English poems on liberty. Mr. Johnson gives a full account of the correspondence between the plan and technique of the two poems and the attitude of the two poets to different historical and political conditions. He exemplifies this similarity among others with some lines on Catholicism in the two epics (p. 41). But it is proved in Lamm's work that this passage in Dalin shows a verbal resemblance to Voltaire, a fact which is tacitly ignored by Mr. Johnson. This, from the point of view of method, is inexcusable. There can be no doubt that Dalin has here followed Voltaire and not Thomson.

With regard to Dalin's relation to Thomson, there is a fairly important fact which Professor Lamm has not considered, and which is evidently unknown to Mr. Johnson. Mr. Johnson counts on Dalin's having been familiar not only with English literature but also with the English language (pp. 34, 35, 186). This is by no means certain. Already in 1883 Isak Fehr, in *Studier i Frihetstidens vitterhet*, doubted whether Dalin was at all able to read in the original those English poets whom he has evidently borrowed from and imitated. This doubt as to Dalin's knowledge of English has been considerably supported by the information about Dalin's library that is given in the inventory of the poet's property, published by Prof. Henrik Schück. It appears that Dalin's collection of books contained works in Latin, German, Italian, French, but only one in English, spoken of in the inventory as an "Engelsk Tragedie om Gustaf Wasa" (English

tragedy on Gustaf Vasa).² The great authors of the time of Queen Anne whom Dalin has so carefully studied, he has evidently read in French, for he possessed their works in that language. Even if it cannot be concluded from this that the Swedish poet did not know any English, it is clear that he preferred to read his English masters and models in French translations³. Since *Liberty* was not translated into French or any other language that Dalin knew when in the year 1742 he wrote *Swenska Friheten*, only six years after Thomson's poem had been published, it is still more difficult for us to accept Mr. Johnson's hypothesis that Dalin took *Liberty* as a model for his poem. Prof. Lamm's opinion in this matter seems to me to stand unshaken by the arguments of his American critic.

It is also difficult for us to accept the results that Mr. Johnson arrives at in the third chapter of his book, concerning Mrs. Nordenflycht. Naturally literary historians have tried to find foreign models for her "seasons", written in the late forties of the 18th century. This has also been noticed by Mr. Johnson, but from his account (p. 53) the reader may easily get the idea that her poems on nature have been more definitely connected with Thomson. But it is not so. Kruse, Mrs. Nordenflycht's biographer, only hesitatingly refers to the Scottish poet in a foot-note. Levertin does not, as far as I can find, mention Thomson's name at all, in spite of Mr. Johnson's statement to the contrary. Neither does Lamm refer to him expressly. The last two Swedish scholars have suggested a connection between Mrs. Nordenflycht and the German imitator of Thomson, Brockes. Mr. Johnson now declares: "Her 'seasons', however, do show that she knew the British poet" (p. 53). What he brings forward to support this statement is, however, too general and vague to be accepted. This is also true of Mr. Johnson's argument for his hypothesis that when writing the patriotic epic, *Det frälsta Svea* (*Svea Saved*), Mrs. Nordenflycht had as her models Thomson's two other great poems, *Britannia* and *Liberty*. We can agree with the author when he writes: "A reading of either of the two English poems will reveal that there is not an element in Fru Nordenflycht's program that she *could not have obtained* from Thomson" (p. 64; my italics). The only fault is that the author has not been able to show clearly that she has actually borrowed her opinions on politics, etc., at that time quite common, from the British poet. Our doubts as to Mr. Johnson's hypotheses that Mrs. Nordenflycht took strong suggestions both from *The Seasons* and from *Britannia* and *Liberty* are increased by a few other circumstances. It does seem rather strange, if Mrs. Nordenflycht was really as familiar with the whole of Thomson's works as Mr. Johnson maintains, that there does not appear to be a single striking example of verbal similarity between them. It is also strange that Mrs. Nordenflycht, who speaks of a number of English authors, never mentions Thomson or refers to any of his works.

Those chapters in Mr. Johnson's book that have not been touched upon here do not give occasion for any serious criticism, even if here too the author is apt to give Thomson more than his due. This is especially true of the chapter on Oxenstierna. For the account of the relations of Creutz and Franzén to Thomson, Mr. Johnson to a large extent had the advantage

² *Samlaren*. N.F. 1: 1920, Uppsala 1921, p. 145.

³ Schück och Warburg, *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria* III³, Stockholm 1927, p. 319 f.

of building on the investigations of Professors Castrén and Ek; for the chapter on Clewberg-Edelcrantz he has used suggestions from the last-mentioned scholar. The chapter which is most valuable for future research is undoubtedly that on Gyllenborg.

Mr. Johnson seems to be well acquainted with the Swedish literature of the 18th century and the works of literary history concerning this period.⁴ Very seldom does he make mistakes of fact, like calling Gjörwell "a Göteborg man" (p. 111). He also appears to be familiar with the Swedish language.⁵ It will be evident from the remarks that have been made here on the plan and method of the author that his study of Thomson's influence on Swedish literature cannot be considered to be definitive.

Lund.

HARALD ELOVSON.

Thomas Chatterton und seine Rowley-Dichtung. Von PAUL STAUBERT, (Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie, Heft XXIV). 162 pp. Bonn: Peter Hanstein. 1935. RM. 6.60.

This book, strictly speaking, does not fall within the province of literary criticism, though it will doubtless be of interest to many students of literature. It is rather a psychological treatise, in which the author takes Chatterton and his works as subjects for an inquiry into the psychology of adolescence and the "abnormalities" which manifest themselves at that period of life. Biographical details, except in the broadest outline, do not, therefore, come within his province, though he pays a handsome (and well-merited) tribute to the study published a few years ago by Mr. E. H. W. Meyerstein; nor is he concerned with the merits or demerits of the Rowley poems as works of literature. A really competent review of the book could only be given by a psychologist, well versed in the findings of modern research, but a brief indication of its scope may be attempted here.

Dr. Staubert contends that critics have failed completely to understand Chatterton, and have therefore been led astray in their assessment of his work, because they have all fallen into one of two errors: either they have sentimentalised him as "the marvellous boy" or "the tragic youth", or else, as a reaction from this attitude, they have judged him by standards which they would apply to adults, and so have come to the conclusion that he was abnormal. Actually, Dr. Staubert feels, he was a fairly normal, though perhaps an over-sensitive, adolescent, and his Rowley poems bear all the marks of the adolescent mind. It is therefore quite beside the point to talk of the Rowley "fabrications", as though Chatterton deliberately set out to impose upon the public. The tendency to indulge the imagination, to day-dream, to create imaginary worlds and imaginary characters with whom

⁴ As Mr. Johnson complains that "very little is known about Denell" (p. 140), it may be permitted to point out that the reviewer has published a study on Denell in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (21.2.1933) under the title *En lundensisk Wertherimitatör*.

⁵ Mr. Johnson makes a curious slip when, scrutinizing Gothenius' translation of *Winter*, he remarks that in v. 1025 Gothenius has left out the word "tremendous". But in Gothenius the line runs: "Vintern härskar förskräcklig" (p. 113; my italics).

the dreamer often identifies himself is a characteristic of the adolescent as well as of the childhood stage of development; it is something we have inherited from our primitive forefathers, and it was just this that was the motive behind the creation of the figure of Thomas Rowley. Then again there is the question of the form and the technique of the poems. Here too Dr. Staubert finds a psychological explanation. That there may have been a certain amount of conscious — and possibly unconscious — imitation of earlier verse he is willing to concede, but for the most part, he holds, the naïveté, the rhythmic effects, the simple metres and the picturesqueness of the poems are just what we should expect from an adolescent, since he has reached roughly the same stage of psychological development as the "community mind" which gave birth to the mediaeval ballads.

So Chatterton is presented as a rather precocious, self-conscious youth, brought up in an atmosphere where folk-lore was a predominant interest and early fired with a spirit of curiosity engendered in him by walks through the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe. When the period of adolescence came, therefore, it was quite natural that his imagination should lead him in the direction that it did. The tragedy occurred when the adolescent stage began to pass. Did Chatterton then come to realise, asks Dr. Staubert, that actually he was no poet; that his youthful imaginativeness and sense of wonder, his boyish ability to create once past, his powers were beginning to fail him? Perhaps he did. At least, his best work was written before he was seventeen, apparently without any ulterior motive or any desire for fame; that which appeared later was merely to satisfy an ambition. As to the question whether Chatterton was mentally deranged, Dr. Staubert answers it in the negative. That he has been called so by critics only shows that they could have had no knowledge of adolescent psychology, which will always appear abnormal to the logical-minded adult.

These, briefly, are Dr. Staubert's arguments; whether or not they are sound only a trained and experienced psychologist could say, but to the layman they certainly make interesting reading.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

Das englische Kinderlied. Von LOTTE BÖCKHELER. 114 pp.
Leipzig: Robert Noske. 1935. RM. 4.00.

This book might be described as a competent and interesting treatment of its subject, quite informative but in no sense original. It advances no new theories and makes no discoveries, but it does analyse, in a fashion not too pedantic, the various types of child-poetry to be found in the English language, illustrating its thesis with abundant quotation. Under the term "Kinderlied" Fräulein Böckheler includes both nursery rhymes, meant primarily for recitation, and nursery songs, which do not live apart from their music. In both of these groups she distinguishes three definite classes: 1) Songs composed for children by adults, usually the mother; 2) Songs which really belong to the adult world and enshrine remnants of folklore, but which have become part of the inheritance of childhood; and 3) Songs which have their origin in the child-world itself. The first of these classes is by far the largest, and in a most interesting chapter our author distin-

guishes the various stages of progression, each one corresponding to a stage in the child's development. First there is the cradle-song and the lullaby, which depend wholly on rhythm; then there come the jingles, which the child accompanies with some simple action, such as the clapping of hands; stories like those of *Bo-Peep* and *Jack and Jill* mark the next stage, when the infant mind is able to comprehend a simple tale; these are followed by songs or recitations dealing with occupations, which call for the accompaniment of imitative and intelligent mimicry. Then, when the child leaves the nursery and goes to school, he is initiated into rhymes of an educative character, which help him to learn his alphabet, to count or to memorise the months of the year; and finally there are the more mature "cumulative" rhymes which he may find an amusing mental exercise in his next stage of development.

Most of the songs or rhymes in this class are probably native to England; but many of the adult type, which have been taken over and adopted by children, Fräulein Böckheler shows, probably had a more primitive origin, since parallels can be found in other Germanic languages. They enshrine certain folk-elements, particularly evident in the riddle-rhymes and in the relics of superstitions, customs and festivals which can still be traced in a large number of them, though the national character, of course, has left its impress on their general spirit, which is typically Anglo-Saxon. The section in which the author discusses this aspect of the subject, and contrasts the English with the German *Kinderlied*, is one of the most interesting in the whole book. These English songs of childhood, she declares, are suffused with a humour characteristically British, for which there is no equivalent in the literature of any other country. If many of them seem to take a delight in the tragic and the gruesome, many are animated by a genuine sense of wonder and romance which lifts them to the level of true poetry, while most manifest a concrete realism which is truly characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Fräulein Böckheler's treatise has gone far towards a preliminary exploration of the field of child-poetry, but it is by no means exhaustive, and even within its own limits improvements might have been effected here and there. No mention, for instance, is made of Dr. F. E. Budd's *Book of Lullabies, 1300-1900*, published in 1930, which collects some of the best examples of this kind of verse from the Middle Ages onwards. In several cases, too, the versions of well-known nursery rhymes given as "standard texts" differ considerably from those known to children today, and in only one instance has any attempt been made to discuss the possible satirical and political significance of many of these songs and rhymes. It has been suggested, for instance, that *Little Jack Horner* refers to the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII; that Jack is no other than the King himself, that the "plu.n" stands for the monastic lands and wealth which he confiscated, and that the self-eulogium of the last line is a jibe at his pretended piety. One may feel that all this is very far-fetched, but it might have been worth consideration, if only to refute it. And finally the lack of an index is a drawback which the present book shares with many other dissertations of this type. The value of a work is never decreased by reference to its pages being made as easy as possible.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

A Study of Shelley's 'Defence of Poetry'. Its Origin, Textual History, Sources and Significance. By L. VERKOREN. 163 pp. (Diss. Amsterdam) 1937.

It is a pleasant sign of the revival of a more purely aesthetical interest in literature that Shelley's *Defence of Poetry* should at last be coming into its own. It is for this reason that one can but welcome Mr. Verkoren's introduction to Shelley's essay. It gives a good idea of the problems connected with the *Defence* and a satisfactory survey of the reasons which induced Shelley to write it, of the existing texts, and of its sources. It is a pity, however, that Mr. Verkoren has fallen a victim to the antiquated critical generalisation which can only see an author as either a lender or a borrower. Mr. Verkoren is too much inclined to call a parallel a 'source', and though he protests that the *Defence* must be considered as a more or less original piece of writing, it is very difficult to reconcile this belief with the author's painstaking search for sources. If one enumerates all the 'sources' mentioned by Mr. Verkoren one may well wonder where Shelley's originality comes in. There does not seem to be any room left. If one bears in mind, moreover, that most of Shelley's aesthetical ideas were the common property of the age (though hardly ever clearly expressed and even then unknown to the majority of readers), it becomes all the more risky to label the origins of a certain theory. On p. 70, for instance, Mr. Verkoren gives a short survey of the similarities between Sidney's *Defense* and Shelley's *Defence*. I should like to point out that the same similarities may be found in the *Biographia*. And, though we know for certain that Shelley was inspired by Sidney's *Defense*, we also know that he was familiar with the *Biographia Literaria*. Then why call Sidney the 'source' of certain ideas and theories of Shelley's and not Coleridge or Wordsworth or Blake? And how is it possible ever to decide whether in a given case Shelley 'borrowed' (a word Mr. Verkoren might have used more sparingly, if at all) directly from Plato or through the medium of the *Defense*, or through any other medium for that matter? The best one can do in such cases is to mention useful parallels and, if possible, to note an influence. For the rest one ought to start from the assumption that any intuitive aesthetician must necessarily have much in common with all other intuitive aestheticians before or after him, and it must be left to the critic's personal insight to judge whether a piece of writing may be considered original, i.e. an expression of a personal and sincere conviction, as Shelley's essay certainly was. If the author had been less preoccupied with the critical fallacy 'either a lender or a borrower be', he would have refrained from committing to paper a sentence like the following (p. 72): "It is possible, however, that Aristotle was not the direct source of Shelley's opinion about the distinction between poets and prose-writers (historians), and that this borrowing (*sic*) must be traced back to Sidney." Mr. Verkoren might have taken to heart Allan Gilbert's advice quoted on p. 91, that critics had better be careful not to use similarities as proofs of the influence of one poet on the other. And is there a note of regret in a sentence like the following: "It is not very likely that Shelley directly derived this idea from Dryden, as he was very little acquainted with Dryden's work"?

Mr. Verkoren further makes the mistake of accepting Shelley's statements

in the *Defence* as representing Shelley's real opinions. A comparison with other statements concerning poetry made by Shelley in other places, especially in his letters, would have proved conclusively that the struggle between the unpoetical reformer and the pure poet in Shelley was never decided in favour of either. It would have been useful, for instance, to compare certain of Shelley's remarks in the *Defence* with the passage about the difference between the man and the poet in a same person, which occurs in the letter to John and Mary Gisborne (July 19, 1821, Ingpen II, p. 883). It would have clarified the issues. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that Shelley was just such a muddle-headed thinker as Coleridge, and that he contradicts himself very often. (T. S. Eliot might have assisted Mr. Verkoren here. I note the sad omission in the Bibliography.) I cannot help pointing out that the author's analysis of the essentials of romanticism is rather primitive (p. 121). As to his definition of poetry (an 'improved' version of Shelley's own): "Poetry is the *metrical* expression of the imagination", it is a distinct misconception of the nature of poetry. Croce might have helped there. It is also difficult to understand how Mr. Verkoren can call Watts-Dunton's definition of poetry, a cheap idem per idem: "The best definition I have come across" (p. 126, n. 3). The author also appears to underestimate the didactic element in Shelley's poetry. I again refer him to T. S. Eliot.

It must not be thought, however, that Mr. Verkoren's work has no merits. One has been mentioned above. The work contains much useful information which it would take a long time to collect for oneself. I can recommend it as a handy introduction to an essay which has been far too much neglected.

Alkmaar.

D. G. VAN DER VAT.

ROBERT BROWNING, *Sordello*. Première traduction intégrale, introduction, sommaires et notes par PAUL DE REUL, professeur à l'université de Bruxelles. (Travaux de la faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'université de Bruxelles, Tome VI.) Bruxelles. 1935.

Goethe, in his Notes to the *West-östliche Divan*, distinguishes three classes of translations: the one, the most eminent specimen of which is Luther's Bible, transfers foreign poetry into simple, every-day domestic prose. The second is a conversion not only of words, but also of thoughts, feelings and manners into such as are familiar to the reader; it is not far from travesty — Goethe calls it parodistic. The third aspires to follow the original so closely that it may be considered as identical with it. This Goethe holds to be the ideal method.

Though Goethe, thinking of Delille or Ducis, qualifies the second as the specifically French method, there is no doubt that the complete French version Paul de Reul gives of Robert Browning's *Sordello* belongs to the third class. Its aim is that which Goethe assigns to the ideal translation, i.e., greatly to facilitate the understanding of the original. It may be that French more than any other language is fit for this task, owing to the

clarity which centuries of stylistical and logical training have given it. If German translations often attempt to rival the original in poetic power, sometimes to the detriment of intelligibility, French renderings serve rather as modest, but faithful interpreters. That is the case with this book, to which I could give no better praise than to say that it fully confirms Rivarol's statement that every French translation is an explanation. I am sure that most foreign students of Browning, and perhaps some English ones, too, will appreciate the service the author has rendered them by assuming this difficult and rather thankless task. How much easier is the work of the commentator! He may pass over in silence many a thorny passage — the translator cannot. It is clear therefore that he must have a larger allowance for mistaking, and it is to the author's credit that the divergences from the original which I have noticed in comparing Books I and II are rare and on the whole irrelevant. The reading of the work is facilitated by the addition of titles serving as a summary. It may well be recommended for the use Goethe assigns to his third class of translations: to lead or even urge the reader to peruse the original.

Basel.

E. MERIAN-GENAST.

L'Œuvre de D. H. Lawrence. Par PAUL DE REUL, Professeur à l'Université de Bruxelles. 284 pp. Essais d'art et de philosophie. Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin. 1937. 20 fr.

Lawrence, perhaps more than any other author, should be read with the heart, not with the head. His work means nothing to the reader who has chiefly an intellectual interest in Lawrence's social, philosophical, and metaphysical doctrines. No doubt, there is plenty of doctrine in his books, more than we may care for. But that is not Lawrence. This approach through doctrine is as irrelevant as that of John Middleton Murry, who considers Lawrence as an extremely interesting case of psychological pathology. Lawrence was more normal than the average Englishman is prepared to admit or even to understand. Of course, there was his disease and the handicap of his early upbringing; but, at bottom, he is an example of an unusually sincere, simple and intensely human personality, whose only fault was, perhaps, to take the opinions of his civilized contemporaries too seriously.

M. de Reul's study is the first book we have seen on the subject which takes a really sympathetic attitude towards this over-praised and over-blamed writer. He combines with a great command of biographical document that broadminded, sensitive and cultured judgment which is in the best tradition of French literary criticism. He does not seek to impress the reader by examining Lawrence's philosophical position, nor does he make his subject the pretext for his own speculations on life, poetry and what not. In this respect he compares favourably with certain schools of literary criticism now much in vogue in Lawrence's home country. His aim is merely to introduce Lawrence to a public who may have, so far, only a biassed or no view at all of the author of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*.

After setting right some other criticisms, notably by Lawrence's intimate friends, M. de Reul follows up the writer's "intuitions directrices" in *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, in *Apocalypse*, and in some other essays. Some interesting remarks are devoted to the significance of the symbols of the crown, the rainbow, Quetzalcoatl, the morning star, and the Holy Ghost. The cosmological fireworks of the *Fantasia* no less than the more commonplace theories on marriage, democracy, psycho-analysis, the rôle of the sexes, religion and civilization are explained in the only way in which they can be explained, that is, through a sympathetic understanding of Lawrence's unending quest of the impersonal sources of Life.

What seems most valuable, perhaps, in M. de Reul's analysis of the novels is the sense of lyrical structure that he is able to convey. The novels are to be considered more in the nature of large frescos or symphonies, in which you must not look for symmetry nor for characters of the kind the naturalist novel has taught us to expect from the artist. Lawrence has anticipated the psychology of Marcel Proust or Virginia Woolf, with their conception of the mind as a flow of consciousness, a changing mirror of images, but he surpasses them by his idea of an impersonal, non-human end or consummation which is, when you have seen all its implications, ethical in its nature. M. de Reul also shows aspects of Lawrence's personality which other critics have ignored: his humour and his skill in describing ordinary, humdrum people, who may have less of the elemental urge that animates his primary characters, but who amuse and touch the writer by their naive prejudices and failings.

M. de Reul then gives an excellent account of the reasons why *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is an artistic failure. Lawrence was right in intending to show the way towards a clear, complete and pure conception of sex. Nobody would quarrel with him about the necessity of the task, and nobody with a clean mind would deny him the purity of his design. But Lawrence sins by an excess of clarity. "Pour sauvegarder la pureté de l'instinct, il faut respecter sa pénombre". He was impelled to exaggerate his eroticism, to analyse and demonstrate the essentially undemonstrable, by a secret, perhaps only half-conscious, desire to put the literary Puritans out of countenance. They had too often censured his less offensive works, he wanted to show them that he could do still worse.

The least successful part of M. de Reul's study seems to be his appreciation of Lawrence as a literary critic. The relevant texts are all faithfully analysed, but M. de Reul is puzzled and a little shocked by what he calls Lawrence's eclecticism, his bad humour and "manque de bienveillance". The fact is, Lawrence judges a work of art by its conformity to what he feels to be a writer's first duty: to make the reader conscious of his relations with the vast living forces behind our human littleness. His criticism is as dogmatic as, say, Tolstoy's, but its dogma is a particularly personal one and, therefore, particularly unsuited for aesthetic valuation, which, after all, is an activity based on certain general assumptions. Lawrence wants to dig to the very roots of man's consciousness and is, therefore, dissatisfied with all literature that seems to stop short at the merely conventional and superficial. From the side of the romantic he arrives at the same aesthetic theory which his friend, Mr. Aldous Huxley, has always defended from a classicist and rationalist point of view, that is, a theory of art as a picture of life in its totality, demanding that the poet or novelist should express the

finally inexpressible. Their common revolt against Victorian morality may be one reason for this and some other similarities of outlook in the two writers.

Lawrence's poetry can be grouped under four heads: early poems, poems of married life, "Birds, Beasts, and Flowers", and last poems. In the discussion of the second group we are given the best account I know of the poet's marriage with Frieda. It is Lawrence's animal poems, however, which appeal most to his Belgian critic. "Nous croyons que ces poèmes vivront, car ils ne ressemblent à rien d'autre en littérature. Leur fraîcheur nous paraît impérissable". M. de Reul splendidly succeeds in showing up a Lawrence who, for the moment, seems not to be haunted by his terrible Absolute, who can strike a genial and tender note. The fragments given by way of illustration are translated as well as it is possible to translate this poetry into French.

In his concluding chapter the author defines Lawrence's place in English literature and relates him to Blake and Shelley. He marks the last and most violent reaction against the moral and religious traditions of his country. His preoccupation with sex is part of his revolt against Puritan morality, but it results ultimately from a desire to establish deeper, more vital, and more intimate relations between men. The author then relates what he calls Lawrence's psychological atomism or pluralism to the novelist's goal of depicting not such and such a character but "the mysterious flame" behind it. The characters in his novels are of two kinds: the principal rôles are held by complicated, problematical natures in whom we may see Lawrence's own troubles and aspirations, then, on a second plane, the subsidiary characters, children, workmen, and people from the middle and higher classes of society. In any case, it would be wrong to grant Lawrence only the power of introspective observation; he has to a high degree the faculty of objective vision. "Ses impressions sont si fortes qu'elles provoquent une création mimique, source de son pouvoir d'évocation".

On the whole, this is an extremely valuable book, not only for its material contributions to the literature on Lawrence, but also for the just and sympathetic understanding it extends to the poet. It keeps up honourably the tradition of the series in which it has appeared.

Solothurn.

H. W. HÄUSERMANN.

Die Psychologie des Schweigens in England. Von DR. HILDEGARD GAUGER. (Anglistische Forschungen herausgegeben von Dr. J. Hoops, no. 84.) 72 pp. Heidelberg: Winter, 1937. RM. 3.80.

The title of this short study is definitely misleading. It arouses the expectation that the author will try to answer such questions as "why are the English a silent race?", "what is it that inclines them to silence where other peoples would speak?", "is their silence conscious or unconscious, a utilitarian practice or an instinctive habit?" The author neither asks nor answers any of these questions. Her study takes the English tendency to

silence as a starting point without enquiring much into the nature or the origins of this tendency. It deals with the value and effects of being silent rather than with its psychology. Its remarks on these points, moreover, often bear more on the virtues and vices of silence in general than on the Englishman's silence to which the title refers. The proper title, therefore, would have been something like "Observations on the social, spiritual and political values of being silent with special reference to the English".

The author has ranged wide and far in her search for the various aspects of being silent, so much so that her study often has the appearance of a collection of unrelated observations whose connection with the subject in hand repeatedly seems very far-fetched indeed. Thus the discussion of English propaganda during the war cannot be said to have more than the remotest connection with the psychology of being silent. The same is true of the rather trite remarks on the value of silent symbols like the crown or the cross. Such remarks may be very true but they are neither very original nor have they anything much to do with the object of investigation. They (and there are a great many equally irrelevant) create the impression that the author lacked sufficient material for the study under contemplation and has therefore resorted to dragging in almost anything that could conceivably though not convincingly be tied up to the central subject. What, for instance, has the silence which one of Pitt's great orations produced among his hearers, to do with the psychology of silence? What does it prove except the wellknown fact that one cannot be a good listener without being silent? Nor do the more relevant observations always strike a level of great profundity or originality. It is no doubt very true that sport and contact with the sea have done something to make the English a race of strong silent men (although the author's picture of week-end crowds at the modern seaside resorts looking silently out over the sea and deriving great strength from the contemplation thereof, will appear somewhat comical to those familiar with Brighton or Southend), but it is so true that it hardly needed saying. Again, that the English have a great many unwritten laws, that wives who are good listeners can be very helpful and stimulating, that all creation requires silence, are all perfect gems of truth that do not, however, become any more convincing by restatement, regardless of the number of erudite quotations with which they are backed up. Whether the author's statement "dass die Führung des heutigen Deutschland unbeirrbar die Fähigkeit zuchtvollen Schweigens übt..." can be said to be equally true seems at least doubtful, but it has at any rate the virtue of originality.

It goes without saying that in spite of the many imperfections alluded to in this perhaps unnecessarily unkind review, there is a certain amount of corn among the chaff. Whether it is worth the labour of unearthing is a question that the reader will have to decide for himself.

London.

J. H. HUIZINGA.

Die deutsche Mundartforschung in ihrer Bedeutung für den englischen Unterricht. Von DR. JOSEF BONGARTZ. (Neue deutsche Forschungen, Abteilung englische Philologie, Bd. 2.) 129 pp. Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt. 1935. RM. 5.—.

Every teacher of English in countries where other Germanic languages are spoken will put to use the fact of the common origin, and if the pupils' regional dialect has even more resemblance with English this is an additional help. The author of the book under review has set himself the task to compare English with the Low German dialects of the North Rhineland (first part), and to show how the similarity can be made use of in the classroom (second part).

The first part is not without interest for the student of languages. It is chiefly based upon the investigations of Th. Frings on the Rhineland dialects. Another source is the Rhineland Glossary, which is in course of publication. The author is also well acquainted with the methods of linguistic geography, and he makes use of the Linguistic Atlas of Germany.

Among the phonological features the chief is, of course, the absence of the Second Germanic Consonant Shift both in English and in the Rhineland dialects. Other similarities are the absence of the nasal in Engl. *five*, *us*, Rh. dial. *fif*, *ūs*, as confronted with High German *fünf*, *uns*. It is pointed out that the same forms exist also in Alemanic dialects, e.g. Swiss *üs*, *füf*. And here F. Wrede's hypothesis is stated that an originally uniform, Western Germanic territory, comprising the whole region of the Rhine, was split up by the intrusion of a dialect influenced by Eastern Germanic, which pushed its way westward from Bavaria and became predominant on the Rhine south of Mainz (*Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten* 1924 p. 270 seqq).

Then the common vocabulary is treated, and the factors that make for uniformity are examined. One of them is the stay of the Angles and Saxons, on their way to Britain, in the Lower Rhine Country and in Northern Gaul. Another is the influence of the Church. There is an interesting chapter (p. 70 seqq) on a number of Christian loan words radiating from the two centres Trier and Köln, and, for various reasons, penetrating also into Anglo-Saxon. This chapter is based on Frings (*Germania Romana*), who in his turn received stimulating impulses from J. Jud's similar investigations about Graubünden. The actual words are few in number. There is e.g. Mod. Engl. *chaff*, Rh. dial. *kāf* — cf. Swiss *chäfe*, *chifel* = pods of peas, green peas —; Mod. Engl. *gate*, Rh. dial. *gat*. Gallo-Romanic words are Mod. Engl. *coulter*, Rh. dial. *kolter*; Mod. Engl. *fuller*, Rh. dial. *follen*. Some of the English words quoted are dialectal, e.g. *tellow* (twig) Rh. dial. *twelg*. Others have not outlived the Anglo-Saxon period, like *tife* (bitch) Rh. dial. *tēf*. This does not make them less illustrative linguistically, but it seems to exclude them for classroom purposes.

This brings us to the second part, which, as the author emphasizes, is the main part, the first only providing the material. Here we have our doubts. In the classroom too much etymology is a hindrance rather than a help. Bongartz himself sees the difficulty (p. 105), but he justifies himself by pointing to the great cultural and political value of such linguistic comparisons. The common origin of English and German culture, he says,

cannot be emphasized too much at a time when we must come to an agreement with England (p. 126). With this we enter upon a complex of questions that lie outside the scope of this review — and journal. All that can be said here is, that the author has handled his task very skilfully and has made the most of the very thin foundation on which he erects his lofty building.

Basel.

MARIA SCHUBIGER.

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Professor Dr. Bernhard Fehr

We deeply regret to announce the death on May 30, after a short illness, of our colleague and fellow-editor Professor Dr. BERNHARD FEHR, of the University of Zürich. Since he joined the Board of Editors of *English Studies* in 1936, Fehr has been one of its most regular and valuable contributors; his last published articles appear in this number. His death means a serious loss to our journal, and to the study of English language and literature generally.

An account of his life and work will be given in the August number.

EILERT EKWALL.

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Substitutionary Narration and Description

A Chapter in Stylistics¹

The "Style Indirect Libre" (S.I.L.), "Erlebte Rede," "Substitutionary Speech" (S.S.), has become one of the most expressive instruments in modern fiction. It is common property to all the literatures of the West, of the United States and of Russia. It takes its place between the Report (R.) on the one hand and Direct and Indirect Speech on the other.

A. Direct Speech. He said to himself: What shall I do next? I have my plan which should be easy enough. I'll get the gold ... And afterwards, when the kid is given back, they'll hunt the country for me.

B. Indirect Speech. He said to himself that his plan should be easy enough, that the next thing to do was to get the gold. And afterwards, when the kid was given back, they'd hunt the country for him.

C. Report. In considering what to do next he was convinced of the easiness of his plan, the idea of which was to return the child only against payment of a sum in gold. But on further reflection he realised that they would hunt the country for him.

D. Substitutionary Speech. What next? He had his plan; it should be easy enough. He'd get the gold. And afterwards, when the kid was given back, they would hunt the country for him. (E. L. Grant Watson, *The Nun and the Bandit*, 169, Albatross.)

In D it is the thoughts of the actor, the *dramatis persona*, that are to be communicated to us in the style peculiar to him (*what next? the kid*), the same as in A and to a lesser degree in B. Yet all the time it is the reporter speaking (the same as in C). Only, the reporter in D has psychologically identified himself with the actor. This is the meaning of "Erlebte Rede" — the reporter experiencing the actor's speech, speaking in the actor's name, substituting his own voice for the actor's although still aware that he is the first person and the actor the third. So it is partly the actor speaking through the reporter and partly the reporter speaking through the actor. It is just this mellowing twilight enveloping an utterance that constitutes one of the charms of substitutionary speech.²

¹ This article is partly the outcome of some of the studies in "Stilkunde" in my Seminar (winter 1937-38) and of pleasing talks with my colleague and friend, the renowned Romance linguist Jakob Jud.

² An excellent summary of what has been done so far in this field of investigation is to be found in Iorgu Iordan, (Translator: John Orr), *An Introduction to Romance Linguistics*, Methuen, London 1937, p. 132-135. — Let us not forget that this investigation was started by Charles Bally (G.R.M. IV, 1912 and VI, 1914). The present writer is also indebted to Bally's pupil Marguerite Lips, *Le style indirect libre*, Paris 1926 and to W. Günther, *Probleme der Rededarstellung*, Thesis (Berne) 1928. — For the English field: A sketchy note by the present writer in his "Englische Prosa," Leipzig, Teubner 1927, p. 37-38; O. Funke, *Zur Erlebten Rede bei Galsworthy* (Englische Studien 64, 450 etc); W. Bühler (a pupil of Funke's), *Die Erlebte Rede im Englischen Roman* (Swiss Studies in English, vol. 4, Zürich 1937.)

But a casual look at contemporary English fiction will reveal the abundant use of another kind of substitutionary form either to be found in the neighbourhood of S.I.L. or in isolation. This second kind taken together with substitutionary speech makes up a wider complex, which we will call Substitutionary Narration and Description³ (*Erlebte Darstellung*) and of which Substitutionary Speech (*Erlebte Rede*) is only a very important component. Compare the following three statements:

1. "Here comes Jack", said Fred.
2. On turning round Fred saw Jack coming across the street towards him.
3. "Look!" Fred turned round. Jack was coming across the street towards him.

No. 1 is Direct Speech connoting a perception — Fred seeing Jack coming across the street towards him. Fred could not exclaim those three words unless he had noticed Jack. No 2 obviously corresponds to what we called Report under C (p. 98). Now what about No 3? As 2 and 3 are synonymous statements in two forms differing stylistically it follows with absolute certainty that the sentence "Jack was coming across the street towards him" cannot be looked upon as a mere report, a sort of stage direction made by the author for the benefit of the reader. It is intended to express Fred's vision. And what we were saying about the stylistic effects of the reporter speaking through the actor and the actor speaking through the reporter applies equally well here on the narrative-descriptive plane. It is the reporter running in on the actor's vision and it is the actor lending his sight to the articulate reporter. It is vision by proxy, "*Erlebte Wahrnehmung*", Substitutionary Perception (S.P.). Here follow some more examples.

4. *Look!* And he *nodded his head* towards the moving mass of creatures before them. Birds and animals *were now swaying* together, closely encircling Mary Poppins who *was rocking* lightly from side to side. Even the trees *were bending* and *lifting* gently and the moon *seemed to be rocking* in the sky as a ship rocks on the sea. (P. L. Travers, *Mary Poppins*, 165, *Albatross*.)

The rocking process is here represented as seen through the eyes of the Hamadryad and the two children. And to remove all doubt that this is indeed a case of S.P. a double signal indicating perception has been placed in front: 1. *Look!* 2. He *nodded his head* towards the moving mass.

5. *Everybody listened.* A bell *was ringing* and a deep gruff voice could be heard coming nearer and nearer. (*Ibidem* 161.)

The perceiving persons are the same as in the preceding example with all the Zoo visitors added. This time it is not a case of vision but of audition by substitution and the Perception Indicator (P.I.) is clearly marked: *Everybody listened.*

To show how psychologically expressive substitutionary audition may become in the hands of an artist we will quote the following passage:

6. (Hermann is engaged in a deadly wrestle with a Kaffir and seems to be getting the worst of it.) Hermann *saw* the wide leaf-like blade glittering above him. All round him *guns were going off* and people shouted. *He wondered* if his father and Johannes van Reemen would hear the noise or if they were too far off. (Stuart Cloete, *Turning Wheels*, Collins 1937, p. 28.)

³ I am borrowing the term *Substitutionary Narration* from John Orr (l.c. 133), but with this modification, that Orr is using this term for S.I.L., *Erlebte Rede*, for which I would propose *Substitutionary Speech*, *Substitutionary Narration* and *Description* denoting the wider complex.

The sentence beginning with "All round" stands half-way between Report and Substitutionary Audition. There is no heralding signal, no P.I. But that the chief stress is laid on Hermann's awareness of the roaring sounds in the midst of his fear of death is made clear by the report sentence immediately following (He wondered). The whole is a specimen of effective empathy (Einfühlung). It is through Hermann's hearing that the reader takes in the bewildering noises rushing into the consciousness of a young man fighting for life.

Substitutionary audition will naturally combine itself with substitutionary vision as in the following:

7. Beyond the smoke Lucy could see the solitary tree against the sky. A night bird was calling, but was unable to evoke any answer from the solitude. A flying fox was flittering on silent wings to and fro overhead. (E. L. Grant Watson, *The Nun and the Bandit*, 172, Albatross.)

The report (Beyond...) acts as a P.I. (she could see). The perceptual door having been opened we first come across substitutionary audition (A night bird ...), which, however, with the 'but' sentence tacked on, shifts back into the report sphere of the opening sentence. But then the way again leads across Lucy's perceptual field (a flying fox ...) and there is evidence of substitution in the author's repeated insistence on Lucy's alertness during those minutes although this substitution need not — in accordance with the nature of *Erlebte Darstellung* — wipe out completely the report aspect.

Before illustrating some of the other possibilities of S.P. it will be well to describe the working machinery of this stylistic form, the chief points of which are:

I. The Perception Indicator (P.I.), already mentioned.

II. The Function of the Progressive Form in S.P.

III. The Occasional Amalgamation of S.P. and S.I.L.

IV. Ataxis as one of the syntactical conditions of S.P.

I. The Perception Indicator. We have insisted on the importance of this signal because it removes all doubts as to whether vision and audition by proxy is meant or not. Such indicators are: Look! (above ex. 3 and 4). He turned round (ex. 3). He looked up. He pointed. He listened. He pricked up his ears. They are like window openers on the same level with speech or thought openers (he said, he thought) followed by a colon. Let us mark the window opener by this sign (:). First, examples with look, see etc.

8. "Take that woman away", he said. "What woman?", Phillips said, *looking round* (:). Two or three men were standing near. "Take her away." Phillips *looked about him* (:). The mulatto woman who had spoken before was sitting near them. (Pritchett, *Dead Man Leading*, 18, Albatross.)

9. I *looked back* as Mike stumbled up the stairs and saw Cohen putting his glasses on again (:). Bill was sitting at the table pouring another glass of Fundador. Brett was sitting looking straight ahead at nothing. (Hemingway, *The Sun Also Rises*, 158, Albatross.)

10. I *looked at* the count (:). He was sitting at the table smoking a cigar. (Ibidem 57.)

11. I *looked back* from the door (:). Mike had one hand on the bar and was leaning towards Brett, talking. Brett was looking quite coolly, but the corners of her eyes were smiling. (Ibidem, 70.)

As Hemingway's novel is a narration in the first person the walk over from the reporter's platform to the perceiver's stage is all the easier. Reporter and Perceiver are identical, two parts only played by the same

person. But the walking — to effect substitution — has to be done nevertheless.

12. I *looked up* at Mike and Brett (:). They seemed to be all right. All three *were leaning forward* on the concrete railing in front of them. (Ibidem 145.)

13. '*Look up here,*' I said (:). Beyond the river rose the plateau of the town. All along the old walls and ramparts people *were standing*. (Ibidem 121.)

Here the P.I. is an imperative borrowed from everyday speech.

14. Through the window of the Café aux Amateurs I *saw* the long zinc bar (:). Outside on the terrace working-people *were drinking*. In the open kitchen of the Amateurs a girl *was cooking* potato-chips in oil. (Ibidem 67.)

15. Then the ranks opened, and they could see at last (:). Napoleon and the Pope *were standing*, and Pius VII *was giving* the kiss of peace. (Belloc, Napoleon, 249, Albatross.)

16. He *turned* eagerly to Johnson with beating heart (:). But Johnson's face was startled. His mouth had opened. His eyes were small and staring. A small stick was in his hand. He *was banging* it on the ground, banging and banging, till it snapped in two. (Pritchett, l.c. 205.)

17. 'There's someone there', he *pointed* to the far bank (:). Two figures *were moving* against the trees. (Pritchett, l.c. 131.)

18. I rose to *face* my audience (:). One of my history tutors *was standing* over by the wall. (Listener XVIII, 1135.)

Facing his audience implies *looking* at his audience.

This example will lead us naturally to those cases where the P.I. is only hinted at, sometimes very slightly. And this again brings us to the complete absence of such a signal.

19. He *found his way back to the platform* (:). Johnson was *standing* there. The muscles of his face *were moving* as if he *were tightening* it. (Pritchett, l.c. 215.)

Getting there connotes seeing things and people there.

20. I dressed and went downstairs and *out into* the cold early morning (:). People *were crossing* the square, *hurrying* towards the bull-ring. (Hemingway, l.c. 174.)

The same as above. He ran out into the street and what did he see there?

21. I opened the door and went in, and *set down my suit-case* (:). There was no light in the room. Cohn *was lying*, face down, on the bed in the dark. (Hemingway, l.c. 172.)

Having set down his suit case *he looked about* and *saw* etc.

22. I looked in at the Iruna for the gang and they were not there, so I walked on around the square and *back to the hotel* (:). They *were eating* dinner in the downstairs dining-room. (Hemingway, l.c. 153.)

Here the P.I. is in fact only absent on paper. Its place is in the imaginative reader's mind who, being told that the actor went back to the hotel, will silently add: "and there he looked round." Such a reader will also see the indicator on the face or in the gesture of one of the acting figures. This suggests itself most frequently in Dialogue.

23. "Where is the drunken comrade?" he asked in Spanish. "You want to see him?" "Yes," I said. "Not me," said Mike. "This gent." The Anis del Mono man wiped his mouth and stood up. "Come on."* In a back-room Robert Cohn *was sleeping* quietly on some wine-casks. (Hemingway, l.c. 139.)

*implies: and then the waiter led him to a back-room and with a smile on his face *pointing* to the wine-casks he said: *Look!* (:)

Or take this:

24. "If you want any breakfast," he shouted, "better look round and get some sticks..."* She *was taking* the hint and *was picking up* sticks as quick as any gin. (Grant-Watson, l.c., 75.)

*marks a suppressed *oh ho!* and a smile on the face of the bandit *seeing* Lucy proceed to work at once. Otherwise the sentence would have to be taken as an ordinary report: No sooner said than done. But the insistence on the fact that the bandit never takes his eye off the nun argues in favour of S.P.

II. The Function of the Progressive Form in S.P. It will have struck the reader that so far all the examples quoted for S.P. show the use of the so-called Progressive Form. (Printed above in *italics*). The reason is obvious. A window is opened abruptly into a scene where things are going on for the eye to see, for the ear to hear. Now the chances are that perception will break right into the midst of one or more of those many processes in course of being at the moment the window is thrown open. That the perceiver's eye should at the very same moment, on "looking up", "looking out", "turning round" etc. happen to hit against a flash-like event, something dot-like, is by far the smaller chance. As examples of S.P. which implies looking into processes we refer to ex. 4 (the rocking process), and ex. 8-13, where *sitting, standing, looking, learning* do not appear as fixities but as processes into which a perceiver has thrown his glance.

25. He *saw* one of the men who had returned with Silva (:). He *was standing* in his boat and he *was wearing* a pair of mosquito-boots. (Pritchett, l.c. 177.)

But the perceiver's glance may chance to fall on a movement just starting, or something flash-like:

26. I *looked* across at the table (:). Pedro Romero *was smiling*.

This is an ordinary case of S.P., a peering into a process. Now compare with this:

27. I *looked* across at the table (:). Pedro Romero *smiled*. (Hemingway, l.c. 164.)

This is still my vision but with this difference: I looked across; then, seeing me, Pedro Romero smiled. — So a simple preterite may also express S.P. But on reading on we find:

(Pedro Romero smiled). He *said* something to the other people at his table, and *stood up*. He *came* over to our table. I *stood up* and we *shook* hands.

This long sequence of preterites, however, destroys the illusion of S.P.; it cannot be kept up, the links stiffen into reports.

This allows us to draw the following conclusion. The Progressive Form in S.P. is functional. It serves to support the perceptive indicator in expressing S.P. And it is in the absence of such indicator the only functional index of S.P. as for instance in ex. 20-24. If we translate those five statements into German, which has no continuous form similar to the English progressive form or the continuous imparfait of French, they will appear outwardly as simple reports and it will require an effort of our imagination to experience them substitutionally. In other words, the use of the Progressive Form becomes for an introspsychic fact like S.P. — in the absence of a P.I. — an introlingual index. If, on the other hand, a simple preterite is used, all introlingual signs to indicate P.S. have gone and P.S. being then a merely introspsychic extralingual fact will be difficult to keep up and the vision will "fade out" into a report unless progressive forms alternate with simple forms to recreate the illusion.

III. S.P. and S.I.L. Amalgamated. Substitutionary Perception and Substitutionary Speech are not identical. The latter is an attempt at a

verbal rendering of the stream of reflections in the actor's mind. With Substitutionary Perception, however, we are under the illusion of receiving a direct verbal replica of visions and auditions not yet affected by the stream of reflections. At least that is the accepted illusion underlying lingual communication. There are words for things, words for doings (perceived only and not thought or talked *about*) and words for thoughts. Perceptual replicas therefore cannot be translated into an *oratio recta* that sounds natural. "Jack was coming across the street towards him" (example 3, above) does not mean: Fred thought, or said to himself: "Jack is coming across the street towards me", which could only be the invention of a pedant.

28. "He saw them from the distance (:). They *were looking* at the car".

This perceptual replica in substitution, if it is to be translated into S.I.L., requires the changes necessary when moving from one style to another:

29. "What were they doing? Looking at the car?" (Grant Watson, l.c. 74).

This is S.I.L. with its typical affective side stresses. It finds its correspondence in a natural *parole intérieure*: "What are they doing? Looking at the car?"

An unadulterated replica may, however, easily be interfered with by the course of reflections, it may be swept into the stream of thought. In other words, Substitutionary Perception may be merged in Substitutionary Speech. This merging is optional. If I say:

30. I walked out beyond the town to look at the weather (:) The bad weather *was coming* over the mountains from the sea (Hemingway, l.c. 150)

our sign (:) may either stand for a window opener or a speech or thought opener. If the perceiver has opened his eyes to the merely visible aspects of the "bad weather" moving across the sky then our statement is S.P. of the kind represented by: He *looked at* the sky (:) Clouds *were gathering*. If, however, the perceiver looks at the sky with a feeling of alarm, if, in other words, he is making the movement in the sky an object of his critical reflection, then our statement is Substitutionary Speech which can be translated into the *oratio recta* of a reasonable *parole intérieure*: The bad weather is coming over the mountains from the sea — which implies: I don't like the look of it, but it was to be expected after that long spell of good weather.

As a contrast to this oscillation between S.P. and S.I.L. we will now quote an example of a submersion of S.P. of varying degrees in S.I.L.

"Armistice Day" by Ford Madox Ford (The Albatross Book of Living Prose), p. 293-296, is the story of a young woman who, on Armistice Day, is going to take care of an elderly man. The four pages are a unique example of a story with S.I.L. almost right through and all the reported or experienced perceptions submerged:

31. *What was he doing?* (The question which at once creates the illusion of S.I.L.). Fumbling in the pocket of his clumsy trousers. He exclaimed — she shook at the sound of his slightly grating, slightly gasping voice — "I'm going to sell the thing... stay here". ("He exclaimed" — Is this simply R. or S.P. because it is she hearing him exclaim? But no! "He exclaimed" is an opener into direct speech [I'm going to sell etc.]. So it must be R. And yet the S.I.L. opening seems faintly continued in this "He exclaimed". "She shook etc." is a sporadic R.). He had produced a latchkey (Is this R? Is this S.P.?) He *was panting* fiercely beside her (Take this as R. or S.P. and you will soon

be undeceived by what follows.) **Beside** her. **Beside** her. It was infinitely sad to be **beside** this madman. It was infinitely glad. Because if he had been sane she would not have been **beside** him. She could be **beside** him for long spaces of time if he were mad ... (All these are her reflections, a thought-tune on "beside", S.I.L.). He was stabbing furiously at the latch-hole with his little key. (S.P. But how deeply immersed in S.I.L.? Is S.I.L. suspended for the moment?) He *would*: that was normal. (Her reflections, S.I.L.)

In this story S.I.L. has so much become the leading stylistic form that whenever the tiny fragment of a report or substitutionary perception is trying to emerge above the level of the reflectional stream it is at once forced back into submersion. But this is the present writer's personal impression, which should be verified by the reader in a re-examination of the whole text.

Between the two extremes treated so far — S.P. with a possible S.I.L. aspect on the one hand and S.P. submerged in S.I.L. on the other — there are shades passing from the one to the other. Our next example (Hemingway, l.c. 74) shows an alternation of R., S.I.L., S.P.

32. I looked for Brett and Mike at the table (R.) *There they were* (S.I.L. is made evident by a reflectional exclamation translated from a natural *oratio recta*: Here they are), Brett and Mike and Robert Cohn (R. but submerged) (:): *Bret was wearing a Basque beret*. So was Mike. Robert Cohn was bare-headed and *wearing spectacles*.

The statement following the (:) is not submerged in reflection. (P.S.)

There is again alternation in the following example (with Michael as the perceiver and Frank as the perceived):

33. *Were those sounds of horse-hoofs?* (Typical S.I.L. question). He was alert on the instant, peering through the bushes (R. with P.I.) (:): Frank, *leading* one of the horses (so far S.P.), *that he might not be heard* (S.P. is here coloured by the perceiver's recognition of the mover's aim. Therefore it passes over into S.I.L.) ... *So that was it* (S.I.L. Suppressed exclamatory reflection). Michael's lip curled. (R. Stage direction). He was *slinking* off back to Richard's girl (S.I.L. here states an inference made by the reflecting perceiver.)

IV. Ataxis. S.P. becomes possible on one condition only: Syntaxis must give way to Ataxis. Take again ex. 2: "On turning round Fred saw Jack coming across the street". This is a case of hypotactical contraction. A hypotactical bracket with three links — cp. the German 1. Als er sich umdrehte, 2. sah Fred, 3. wie Jack über die Strasse herankam — has been contracted into a bracket with the three links soldered together. This new bracket may be cut up again and one bit (no. 2) may be dropped and we get two atactical statements: "1. Fred turned round (:) 2. Jack was coming across." With the syntactical nexus gone, another, an extralingual nexus has taken its place. This is what happens in everyday speech where the nexus is situationally supplied by the speaker's imagination and at once taken up by the listener. "Fred turned round" is followed up by the imaginary question "What did he see?" And this ushers in the natural answer: "Jack was coming across the street." But what does this question *sub silentio* in reality amount to? It is that flash-like reaction in the actor's awareness the moment the vision strikes him. Whenever such a flash-like reaction reaches the threshold of the introlingual it will explode as a fragmentary ah! oh! Or: there he goes! If, as mostly in real life, it stays below the threshold it will be a mere click (of awareness). It is this click in the actor's awareness preceding his vision that with electric immediacy becomes substitutionally the reporter's who "is running in on the actor's vision" (s. above p. 98).

Perception in social life is a series of clicks and visions, chiefly extralingual or, if introlingual, in the shape of tiny fragments. Take ex. 2. Fred, not accompanied by any one, seeing Jack coming across. This will be all extralingual: click and vision. Supposing him in the company of a friend it will work out this way: "Look!" Click (almost immediately in both individuals). "Jack" (Fred's utterance at seeing his vision). Or take: "Do yo see that dog swimming across the pool", which in life would be hardly more than: A.: "See that dog"? B. on effecting substitution of A.'s attitude: "Yes" and simultaneously: Click, Vision (dog swimming). Our modern atactic stylist has thus borrowed his trick from everyday speech in "living space" where it is all substitution, click, vision. The Ataxis of fiction, although lingually expressing more than is actually noised about in living space, by its demand on the reader for intropsychic collaboration and substitution and by the abruptness of its jointless sentences and its disregard of continuity, comes nearest to the extralingual clicks of life. This apparently coarse atactic style is in fact a form of refined realism. Its opposite is the traditional prose style with the numerous clasps and brackets of its rigid scaffolding — where substitutionary transpositions are logical and introlingual.

This loose modern style — carried to extremes by an author like Ernest Hemingway, but frequently met with in English writers such as V. S. Pritchett and Grant-Watson, from whom we quoted freely⁴ — marks the very latest development of English Prose. Its sign is ataxis which implies: 1. An almost unlimited use of S.I.L., which has been sufficiently investigated by scholars. 2. A breaking up of the epic line into bits of dialogue. 3. A breaking up of the epic line into report fragments interspersed in the dialogue. 4. The open door for substitution in what otherwise would appear as ordinary report. Let us consider the following situation (Hemingway, l.c. 146): Bill and I were watching the street dancers in a Spanish town. At that moment our two friends, Mike and Brett, were passing. Bill referred to them ironically as "the gentry". I halloed them. This expressed in the latest atactic fashion runs as follows:

34. 1. "Here come the gentry," Bill said. 2. They were crossing the street. 3. "Hello, men," I said.

This is dialogue (1 and 3) with report wedged in (2). No. 2 is a stage-directing report. Its introlingual but extrasyntactical nexus with 1 and 3 is that of simultaneousness (*were crossing*). Yet this stage direction stands exposed to substitutionary treatment: I looked up just then (:). They were crossing the street. Atactic Style has the visualized immediacy of real life.

A protest against this staccato substitutionary style was George Moore's later manner, beginning with "Brook Kerith" and "Heloise and Abelard", in what he called the Melodic Line⁵ or better Melodic Continuity. He reverted to older more classic models avoiding S.I.L., S.P. and Ataxis. His protest was not so bold as he imagined. Years before, Maurice Hewlett had in his "Forest Lovers" (1898) attempted a similar experiment. And there is yet a host of contemporary writers who will not write atactically.

⁴ Note also Cedric Belfrage, *Promised Land*, Gollancz 1938 (American).

⁵ Cp. Joseph Hone, *The Life of G. M.*, Gollancz, 1936.

We will now point out two possibilities of S.P., one visual, the other auditive.

I. As a window may be opened into a real scene it can just as easily be thrown open into memory or imaginary representation. Here the film with its short cuts into remote distances of space and time may have given valuable hints to novelists.

Here is the day vision of a man (Johnson) watching his dying friend (Wright) whose old home he is seeing (Pritchett, l.c. 150):

35. In his mind he continually *saw* a brilliantly lighted room — the drawing-room of Wright's house in England (R.) — (:) and there Mrs. Wright *was reading* and Lucy *was standing* by the open window, they were *talking*. Suddenly he (Johnson) *was there walking* across the room and they got up and walked quickly, exclaiming, towards him. They came very close to him, Lucy *was laughing* and the laughter and some words passed near to his face and then over and beyond him (S.P.), (R:) and once more the room reappeared as it had been at first, with Mrs. Wright and the book and Lucy at the open window (:). They got up and came to him as before.

This is unadulterated S.P. with functional progressive forms and simple preterites alternating. (The illusion of S.P. can be kept up as long as simple preterites alternate with functional progressives, cp. above, p. 101.) It will be well to hold beside this beautiful piece of obsessive memory vision that incomparable passage in R. Rolland's "Jean Christophe", vol. 7, quoted by Günther, l.c. 143⁶, Christophe's mother expecting her son home and looking back into the happy days when she and her husband and her little boy were living together in the old house on the bank of the Rhine. The Christophe scene is technically not the same as the Pritchett scene. It opens with a P.I., to drop at once into unmistakable S.I.L. But like the English vision it drives on its *imparfaits* (as substitutes for the progressive forms) and then, under the increasing stress of anticipatory excitement, it rushes into the *présent*. In the end, with a bang, vision and reality become identical: Christophe is in the room. (Cp. Günther's excellent interpretation, p. 144). This piece of stylistic mastery is, however, an example of S.P. submerged in S.I.L. (cp. above "S.P. and S.I.L. Amalgamated".)

The same book (Pritchett, l.c. 239) supplies a fine window opener into the land of memory. An African explorer is sitting in front of the fire in his former sweetheart's London room:

36. He *looked* into the fire and the coal was like a rock and the glow below it like the glade in the fierce sun (:). A man *was walking* away down the glade without pack or arms. Phillips remembered this ...

This vision begins well with its functional progressive form (walking) but then losing itself in a series of simple preterites it ceases to be a vision in S.P. and is felt by the reader to be a report (cp. above p. 101). But the P.I. and the window opener are beautifully immediate and the transformation of the coal into a rock and the glow into a glade is a felicitous application of the Fade-In and the Fade-Out and the Dissolve of the film.

II. A recent but common pattern of audition by proxy is *he was saying* instead of "he said". But this recent pattern must not be mixed up with its homonym of older date as in this scene in T. Hardy's Tragedy of Two Ambitions (in Life's Little Ironies, Tauchnitz p. 73):

⁶ I am indebted to Prof. Jud for a reference to that scene.

37. The following December, a day or two before Christmas, Mrs. Fellmer and her son were walking up and down the broad gravel path which bordered the east front of the house ... "You see, dear mother," the son was saying, "it is the peculiarity of my position..."

Here in this opening of Part IV the curtain rises so to speak on Mrs. Fellmer and her son walking up and down that path and the son saying: "Dear Mother etc". This is ordinary reporting on a process, not S. P.

The situation is altered when scraps of conversation are picked up by a person listening and when author and reader are receiving not only those scraps but the speech opener and the listening process through that listener. In that case it could not be: "All right", she said, it must be "All right," with a functional she was saying. Here is Eleanor at a dancing party (Virginia Woolf, *The Years*, Hogarth Press 1937, p. 419):

38. She listened. Scraps reached her from above. "... flats in Highgate have bathrooms," they were saying. "... Your mother ... Digby ... Yes, Crosby's still alive ..." It was family gossip, and they were enjoying it.

Eleanor is listening in to a process; the people engaged in that process might either be singing, shouting, sighing, moaning or be saying something and enjoying it as they are doing here. They were saying is S.P. (Translated into R.: she heard or overheard them saying).

The listener as a substitutionary percipient is therefore essential to the right interpretation of the they were saying pattern, where — in opposition to they said — the mere fact of saying something becomes the object of a listener's perception. This comes out well in the scene (Grant Watson l.c. 24) showing the bandit overhearing a long bit of important conversation from behind a bush:

39. Michael tore a leaf from the bryonia bush and put it in his mouth, and bit on it (to relieve the stress of listening intently). "You'll have to sit very still", Richard was saying.

Here follows a nice combination of S.I.L., R. in telegram style and S.P. The heroine is meeting old friends. Here is No. 1.

40. She was going to say, 'How do you think of all your plots?' (S.I.L.) She did say it (R). And Vera Mollison. She was asking: 'Are you writing anything now?' (S.P.) (D. Sayers, *Gaudy Night* 17.)

A most curious contamination is the following.

41. North fidgeted. He listened. (P.I.) Jimmy was in Uganda; Lily was in Leicestershire, my boy — my girl ... they were saying (S.P.).

We have a real P. I. followed by Direct Speech unexpectedly translated into S.I.L. (was instead of is)⁷ with the speech opener in S.P. put behind.

Were saying is most frequent in V. Woolf's *The Years* (404, 405, 416, 417, 418, 424). It is a particularly expressive formula in the dancing party chapter.

In the course of our investigation we were led to distinguish cases of R, S.P., and S.I.L. with sharp dividing lines between each and cases where the dividing line was more or less blurred. Let us in conclusion mention a few examples where this line between R. and S.P. is subtle but distinct.

42. He became aware that somebody was calling him by name from infinitely far away. (Masefield, *Sard Harker*, Heinemann, 1924, 206.)

⁷ Of course it might be argued that the speech opener only reaches as far back as my boy and that Jimmy was in Uganda was genuine S.I.L.

43. At the spot where I turned on each lap of my walk I became aware that the figure of a woman was standing and looking in my direction. (Listener 1937, XVIII, 1183.)

44. At the same time I became conscious or subconscious that she was telling me in French that I must change my train. (Ibidem.)

45. I had the feeling that time was standing still. (Ibidem.)

Although these sentences have a strong visual appeal they are not conceived substitutionally. They are simple statements of a person's awareness and the contents of that awareness. The click (cf. above p. 103) is absent. To put it in, changes would be necessary:

46. In his dream he became aware of strange sounds (:). Somebody was calling him ...

47. I had a strange feeling (:). Time was standing still.

Sometimes the absence or the presence of a little word like *and* points one way or the other.

48. He awoke and the train was plunging through luxuriant citrus groves. (Cedric Belfrage, *Promised Land*, London, Victor Gollancz, 1938, 26.)

49. He awoke (:). The train was plunging through luxuriant citrus groves.

The syntactical *and* in 48 has the effect of continuing the R-opening. It bars the way to substitution.

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The Poetry of T. S. Eliot

Though he will be fifty in the autumn of the present year, one is inclined to think of T. S. Eliot as belonging to the younger generation of poets. This is probably due to the fact that his teachings and literary ideas have not yet been superseded by those of others, and that they have become crystallized into a sort of gospel for many of his admirers and followers. It is the aim of the present article to show that it is no longer possible to neglect Eliot's poetry as if it were a new-fangled poetical experiment, and at the same time to give an idea of the nature of his writings and of their poetical perfection. Eliot began writing poetry at the age of nineteen, though his first volume of verse was not published until 1917 under the title *Prufrock and Other Observations*¹. Like the symbolists with whom he has so much in common Eliot is gifted with a poetic conscience, and from the very first his poetry has borne witness to the strength of his aesthetic convictions. It is, therefore, not surprising that even his first work gives

¹ The following are the titles and dates of Eliot's poetical publications: *Prufrock and Other Observations* (1917); *Poems* (1919); *Ara Vos Prec* (1919) contains previous poetry with some additions; *Poems* (1920) contains previous poetry; *The Waste Land* (1922); *Poems 1909-1925* (1925) contains all previous work and adds *The Hollow Men* (1925); *Sweeney Agonistes* (1926 and 1932); *The Journey of the Magi* (1927); *A Song for Simeon* (1928); *Animula* (1929); *Ash Wednesday* (1930); *Marina* (1930); *Triumphal March* (1931); *Difficulties of a Statesman* (1932); *The Rock* (1934); *Collected Poems* (1936) contains most of the previous poetry including the choruses from *The Rock*; *Murder in the Cathedral* (1936).

the reader an impression of absolute novelty. Notwithstanding the reminiscences of other poets contained in the first volume, it is practically impossible to connect the author's 'style' with that of any of his predecessors. It would be easy to point out parallels with other poets, especially with presymbolists like Laforgue, but the parallels are conscious on the part of Eliot and it would be impossible to point out any of the ordinary forms of indebtedness which first volumes of poetry nearly always show. Like Joyce Eliot has been a conscious artist from the first and his work is by no means an imitative tribute to one or more admired models.

The most striking feature of this new poetry is undoubtedly its hardness. It is clear from the very first that Eliot has broken with that most deplorable symptom of romantic decay, which Pound has called the crepuscularity of romantic poetry, i.e. its sloppy sentimentality and the easy and superficial hypnotic effects of mere rhythm and melody. Eliot at once strikes one as an artist who is thoroughly conscious of his poetic responsibilities. Even in this first volume it would be difficult to find a single word which owes its existence to its melodiousness, or a single line written for the sheer delight in a well-turned phrase. Even as a poet and an artist Eliot impresses us as a puritan, a hard and unyielding taskmaster. His uncompromising integrity is typical of all his work.

Another thing which is bound to strike the reader at once is the remarkable associations of ideas and the curious images arising from them. There is nothing new in this really. This consciousness of a new and startling law of associations proper to poetry only, and which has nothing whatever to do with logic, dates back to the beginning of the romantic period.² At first this idea became tangled up with occultism. Blake is the most striking example of this. Under the influence of Swedenborg he came to believe in the existence of fixed symbols. The alleged fixity of these symbols, however, led Blake into an impasse from which he never quite succeeded in extricating himself, and it turned much of his poetry into occult prophecies or dreams. His followers Yeats and especially Russell made the same mistake a century afterwards with equally disastrous effects. It was chiefly the French symbolists and their immediate predecessors who evolved a much clearer perception of this phenomenon. They found that, when the poet's mind was undergoing the poetic experience, (the vision or inspiration), certain ideas, words or images seemed to fix that vision, though there was not an apparent connection. Sainte Beuve has a remarkable passage on this fact in his *Poésies de Joseph Delorme* (Vol. I p. 95) which serves as a preface to the equally remarkable poem *Les Rayons Jaunes*. Baudelaire has a very instructive passage on

² Compare also Wordsworth in *Prelude* II, ll. 382-386 and "the manner in which we associate ideas in a state of excitement" (*Preface* of 1800). The 'excitement' is of course the exaltation accompanying the poetical inspiration. Shelley refers to the poet as one who makes "Strange combinations out of common things" (*Prometheus Unbound* III, iii, l. 32). See also *The Defence of Poetry* (ed. Shawcross, London 1909, p. 154): "[Poetry] ... awakens and enlarges the mind itself by rendering it the receptacle of a thousand unapprehended combinations of thought." See also the reference to 'analogy', (ib. p. 127) and to "the before unapprehended relations of things" (ib. p. 123). Cp. also Rossetti, *The House of Life*, Sonnet 74. ll. 4-7; F. Thompson in *Shelley* (*Works* ed. Meynell, III, p. 25); G. Russell (AE) in *Imaginations and Reveries: Art and Literature*, p. 64; the same in *Imag. and Rev.: Two Irish Artists* (pp. 92-93); Sainte-Beuve in *Pensées de Joseph Delorme XX* (*Poésies*, Vol. I, p. 219) etc.

it in his essay on Hugo in *L'art Romantique*: "Chez les excellents poètes, il n'y a pas de métaphore, de comparaison ou d'épithète qui ne soit d'une adaptation mathématiquement exacte dans la circonstance actuelle, parce que ces comparaisons, ces métaphores et ces épithètes, sont puisées dans l'inépuisable fonds de *l'universelle analogie*, et qu'elles ne peuvent être puisées ailleurs." And every reader is of course familiar with the *Correspondances* in *Les Fleurs du Mal*. The proseworks of the French symbolists after Baudelaire teem with such statements, though on the whole they are further removed from Swedenborgian occultism than Baudelaire was. Particularly remarkable is of course Mallarmé's *Le démon de l'analogie* in *Les Divagations*. Eliot himself has coined the term 'objective correlative' to describe this sort of analogy.

This association theory is also the explanation of the frequent occurrence in the works of the poets referred to of literary comparisons without a tertium comparationis. Instances of this sort of comparison which differs essentially from the homeric type of comparison, are to be found very frequently throughout nineteenth century poetry and even more frequently in modern poetry, the only difference between the two periods being that we often notice a sort of self-consciousness on the part of nineteenth century poets in their use of this new device, whereas modern poets seem to take this mode of expression for granted, a fact which is to a large extent responsible for the alleged obscurity of modern poetry. A striking example of this literary device is e.g. the following stanza from Rimbaud's *Le Bateau Ivre*:

J'ai rêvé la nuit verte aux neiges éblouies
Baisers montant aux yeux des mers avec lenteurs :
La circulation des sèves inouïes,
Et l'éveil jaune et bleu des phosphores chanteurs.

And here is another from Rilke's *Stundenbuch*:

Und sieh : er kam. Kam wie zu einem Kinde
Und sagte sanft : Weisst du auch, wer ich bin ?
Das wusste er. Und legte sich gelinde
Dem Greis wie eine Geige unters Kinn.

I shall quote a few lines from *The Lovesong of J. Alfred Prufrock* to illustrate the use of this sort of direct association in Eliot's poetry:

The yellow fog that rubs its back upon the window-panes,
The yellow smoke that rubs its muzzle on the window-panes
Licked its tongue into the corners of the evening,
Lingered upon the pools that stand in drains,
Let fall upon its back the soot that falls from chimneys,
Slipped by the terrace, made a sudden leap,
And seeing that it was a soft October night,
Curled once about the house, and fell asleep.

And in the same poem :

I have measured out my life with coffeespoons ...

Again in the beautiful lines reminiscent of Rimbaud at his best :

I should have been a pair of ragged claws
Scuttling across the floors of silent seas.

In the poem *Morning at the Window* we have another example :

I am aware of the damp souls of housemaids
Sprouting despondently at area gates.

Other examples are to be found throughout Eliot's poetry. I may say in passing that his pure perfection in this respect ranks him among the greater poets of English literature.

The form of the poetry in this first volume is chiefly remarkable in that it is absolutely free in the sense that the poet has made no sacrifice to exterior rhythmical patterns. The verse is seemingly free. Actually it is more rigid than any form of patterned rhythm could possibly be. Already in his earliest poetry Eliot shows that he possesses an ear nicely attuned to the inner rhythm of an idea. It is not the succession of stresses within a given prosodical limit that produces the rhythmical effect, nor is it the variation on a basic metrical theme. It is the shocks with which the poetical ideas meet their adequate poetical expression that create the subtle and haunting rhythmical perfection of this poetry. The reader finds himself caught in a hard relentless grip which never allows him to relax or to be sweetly hypnotized by mere melody and metre. It is one of the elements responsible for the hardness to which I have referred above. As to the spirit of this poetry it is clear from the first that we have to do with a direct descendant of the symbolists and more especially of their immediate predecessors like Rimbaud, Corbière and Laforgue. I note in this respect the spirit of exhaustion and despair, the aversion to the big cities and all they stand for and the occasional leanings towards crude vulgarity. Eliot's aversion to the life of our days and his hate of the cities where this life has reached its lowest level, expresses itself in the same harsh and disillusioned way with which we are familiar from the poetry of the presymbolists. He does not achieve the perfect poetical transposition which we find for instance in the following pure lines from Rilke's *Stundenbuch* :

Denn, Herr, die groszen Städte sind
Verlorene und Aufgelöste ;
wie Flucht vor Flammen is die gröszte, —
und ist kein Trost, dasz er sie tröste,
und ihre kleine Zeit verrinnt.

And :

Die groszen Städte sind nicht wahr; sie täuschen
den Tag, die Nacht, die Tiere und das Kind.

Eliot still shows an attitude, an extra-poetical consciousness of ethical problems, which tends to mar the purity of his poetry. We feel everywhere his puritan sense of sin and sordidness, his preoccupation with evil, which also shows itself in the way he is fascinated by the more vulgar aspects of life to which I have already referred. The beauty of his poetry is never meek or humble as it was in Verlaine and Rilke. It should be remembered especially that it is the puritan element in Eliot's mental make-up which is largely responsible for the frequent bitterness of his poetry. That is undoubtedly the reason why he has felt himself attracted by the bitterness (due to other reasons, it is true) of La Corbière and

Laforgue. We shall also see that this puritanism and the resulting struggle with beauty will lead to Eliot's poetical undoing in the end. The taste of ashes, so familiar to the readers of Joyce and Lawrence, is equally prominent in Eliot. His is a poetry of disillusion born from the disparity between a genuine idealism and sordid reality. Judging this first volume of poetry from a purely aesthetical point of view one cannot but admit that it does not merely show promise but that it has fulfilled its promise from the start. Though I have pointed out one source of impurity, it cannot be denied that the Prufrock volume contains passages of astonishing poetical perfection. Note for instance the verbal integrity and the perfection of expression in such simple lines as the following :

If one, settling a pillow by her head,
Should say: 'That is not what I meant at all.
That is not it, at all.'

In 1920 another volume appears under the title of *Poems*. It contains the poems of *Poems* (1919) and *Ara Vos Prec* (1919) with some additions. The 1920 volume shows distinct progress. Though we still find occasionally the harsh contrasts reminiscent of Donne and the bitterness reminiscent of Laforgue, they have grown slightly softer, slightly more poetical. We find symptoms of an intenser poetical purity, a more Dantesque softening of the rhythmical flow of thought. We also notice an even more daring use of imagery. In the best poem of the volume, *Gerontion*, this is particularly noticeable. The poem is about 'an old man in a dry month ... waiting for rain'. The desolation and disillusion of the 1917 volume has crystallized into something less earthbound. The poet's harsh voice has acquired a more metaphysical accent. Compare the following lines :

Here, I am, an old man in a dry month,
Being read to by a boy, waiting for rain.
I was neither at the hot gates
Nor fought in the warm rain
Nor knee deep in the salt marsh, heaving a cutlass,
Bitten by flies, fought.
My house is a decayed house,
And the jew squats on the window sill, the owner ...

Another passage which deserves mention for the same reason is the following, also from *Gerontion*. Note the reminiscences of Blake and the striking resemblance to Blake's prophetic books :

I would meet you upon this honestly.
I that was near your heart was removed therefrom
To lose beauty in terror, terror in inquisition.
I have lost my passion: why should I need to keep it
Since what is kept must be adulterated?
I have lost my sight, smell, hearing, taste and touch:
How should I use them for your closer contact?

These lines are also expressive of the puritan element in Eliot to which I have referred above. They are also in a sense prophetic of the poet's later development. As we shall see it is the puritan element which in the end will conquer the poetical striving after pure beauty. The silence, which forms the logical development of Eliot's poetical growth, is the outcome of a resignation similar to that attributed to *Gerontion* in the poem.

An aspect of Eliot's poetry which I have refrained from pursuing in connection with the *Prufrock* volume, is the poet's indebtedness to others. Though traces of literary 'inspirations' are to be found in the 1917 volume, they are much more noticeable in the 1920 volume. In this respect Eliot also links up with the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century poets have all been extremely conscious of the aesthetic and social implications of their art. Whereas the eighteenth century poet is still (consciously) a glorified society entertainer, the nineteenth century poet develops a tendency to withdraw from a possible audience. Statements to this effect can be found in the prose work or letters of practically all the nineteenth century poets from Blake onwards, both in France and in England. It is not, however, until the middle of the century that this originally individual feeling grows into a group conviction. After Baudelaire the symbolists state it as an article of their creed that poetry is something in which the masses can have no part. Villiers de l'Isle-Adam is one of the most typical 'aristocrats' in this respect. This movement away from 'popularity' was nothing but a social attitude, which, however, corresponded with psychological and aesthetic facts which the symbolists hardly realised themselves. Poetry has always been a pastime for a minority, real poetry that is, and the attitude of the symbolists towards the masses was a distortion of a truth which they could not fathom at the time. Eliot has accepted the consequences of this fact and never troubles to meet his readers anywhere. If we must use the word 'obscure' in connection with poetry (and it must be remembered that all good poetry is obscure from a logical point of view) then his poetry must be classified among the most obscure imaginable, though not of course more obscure than Shakespeare's poetry, or Donne's or Ezra Pound's. This obscurity is partly due to the seemingly strange images and the novel associations to which I have referred above. But in this respect Eliot's obscurity does not essentially differ from the obscurity of poets like Mallarmé, de Nerval, and Rimbaud, or the obscurity of Joyce in *Ulysses*. There is, however, another element contributing to the alleged unintelligibility of Eliot's poetry. There is no way for a poet to escape from his own self, if he is to remain sincere. And if that self happens to be an extremely well-informed and erudite person, it is obvious that his poetry, his associations, his vocabulary, and his 'subjects' will show it. Now Eliot is undoubtedly a very widely read and almost excessively cultured person, in which for the rest he links up with the nineteenth century tradition. All the nineteenth century poets were mostly well read, and especially the symbolists made it their task to assimilate as much as they could. Their poetry consequently will be difficult to any 'simple' reader. They delight in stray allusions to the words of other authors and poets. We find this in Blake, in Shelley and Keats, in Rossetti and Thompson, in the aestheticists of the nineties, in Goethe and Raabe, in Rilke and Stefan George etc. etc. The list is endless and continues up to the present day with people like Pound, Joyce, Read and innumerable others. But apart from James Joyce, it would be difficult to find a poet more unwilling to descend to an intellectual level lower than his own than T. S. Eliot. All his poetry teems with allusions. And though he takes the trouble now and again (in *The Waste Land*) to enlighten his readers upon the sources of his quotations and allusions, he mostly leaves it to his readers to puzzle out which is Eliot's and which is somebody else's.

This attitude has irritated many critics (not to mention the host of readers who want 'simple' poetry) but it must be stated with the greatest possible emphasis that no poet has any duties whatsoever towards any of the people who choose to read his poems. The queer superstition that most great poetry is simple is partly responsible for this intense resentment. It would make things much easier, if the reading public could be persuaded that great poetry is hardly ever simple if measured by the ordinary standards of logic, which lose their validity anyhow when applied to poetry. As I have said Eliot's obscurity is due to a large extent to his erudition. But it is not his fault that every reader does not possess sufficient erudition to be able to enjoy his poetry. The only question which we have to ask ourselves is whether Eliot is 'showing off' or not. And he certainly is not. It would be hard to find any poetry possessing such sincerity and integrity as the poetry of Eliot.

In passing I may mention a few of the more obvious sources of Eliot's inspiration (the word 'imitation' would be unfair and entirely out of place here). I have already mentioned the symbolists and presymbolists in general. Of the latter Baudelaire and especially Laforgue are the most important. Other notable influences are Dante and Webster and above all John Donne, to all of whom I shall return in my discussion of *The Waste Land*. In the 1920 volume there are several direct references to Laforgue among which the French poem *Mélange adultère de tout* is the most important. The title is from Laforgue's description of himself and the rhythm of the poem as well as the contents are reminiscent of Laforgue's complaints about life. In connection with Eliot's 'indebtedness' to Laforgue, it is also of importance to note that the former speaks in the same conversational tone as did the latter. Donne with whom Eliot has so much in common is another example of this.

In 1922 Eliot published a work which more than any of his other poetry has contributed to the general resentment felt against the poet. It is the long poem *The Waste Land*. The fact that it was fashionable at one time to call *The Waste Land* Mr. Eliot's most perfect and greatest poem, makes it almost impossible to say just that. But the fashion has worn off and one has to risk calling this poem one of the most perfect produced in the twentieth century and one that is certain to survive with the best poetry of the world's literature. As I have already pointed out Eliot has taken the trouble kindly to inform his readers of some of his sources. Like Joyce's *Ulysses*, *The Waste Land* is not a simple 'story' but a tissue of closely interwoven parallels. The *Waste Land* itself is the desolate land of the Grail legend lying bare under the scorching sun, its soil cracked and turned red by drought. It is the country of the Fisher King waiting for the knight of the legend to come and deliver it. The subject was suggested to Eliot, as he says in his notes, by Miss Jessie Weston's *From Ritual to Romance*, which deals with the Grail legend. But *The Waste Land* is not only the Fisher King's country, it is also the barren desert of the big city and the spiritual desolation of a mind disillusioned by an unfriendly reality. As a matter of fact the spirit of the poem is a logical development of the desolation which we have already stressed as significant of Eliot's previous work. There is a distinct development towards negation and asceticism. I shall just go over the different strands of which the fabric of the poem is made up. I have already referred to the most important

one. Running concurrently with the Grail legend are the patterns of other myths connected in some way with the Grail legend. The inspiration to these is again due to Miss Weston and in part to *The Golden Bough*. The vegetation cults expressing themselves in the myths mentioned above in their turn link up with the symbolism of psycho-analysis, which is represented most prominently by the death by water symbol which is alleged to mean degeneration by sexual indulgence. The Syrian and Levantine characters appearing unexpectedly in different passages of the poem owe their existence to Miss Weston's suggestion that the vegetation cults and rites were spread by Phoenicians and Syrians. The game of Chess and Faro provide two other strands. The former is linked up with associations from Middleton's *Women Beware Women*, whereas the latter provides the occult motive which runs through the poem. It must be understood that these different strands cannot be lifted out of the main fabric since they are not interwoven in any systematic way. They appear and disappear without a semblance of logic or continuity, but rather with the obsessive insistence of dream elements. The whole structure of the poem is curiously suggestive of a dream and personal memories crop up as in a dream. One receives the impression of a bleak nightmare, not violent but haunting and persistent. There is a strong sexual undercurrent in the use of symbols from psycho-analysis. The women appearing in the poem or only mentioned all owe their presence to sexual associations of a rather one-sided nature, one-sided that is in so far as they are all seen from a psycho-analytical point of view. A similar impression is given by the men in the poem. They would all feel at home in the pages of Freud's works, and they are all connected in most cases by their death by water. The point of the poem, if there is any, is the delivery of the land through the intercession of the questing knight, who is clearly associated with Christ (Christ the Tiger in *Gerontion* who came 'in the juvescence of the year'). If, therefore, one is allowed for once to go part of the way with the biography mongers who have been pursuing Eliot in great packs, we have in *The Waste Land* not only the acme of desolation which was developed through his previous poetry but also a certain promise of a solution, namely the delivery through religion. I shall certainly not connect this with Eliot's conversion to Anglicanism. But I shall return to the problem later on in connection with what I consider the drying up of the poetical spring in Eliot. I want to say before going further that it does not seem essential to elucidate *The Waste Land* for oneself before one can possibly enjoy its beauty. The best passages of the poem do not need any elucidation in order to be enjoyed, and the ones that really do need it, are mostly prose, that is bad poetry. For the rest I refer the readers to the authors who have made it their task to 'explain' Eliot.³ What I want to point out and make clear is the poetical excellence of the poem. As I have already hinted the poem is hardly perfect as a whole. There are many passages which are no more than prose. Eliot does not always succeed in getting away from his intellectual preoccupations. He thinks too much and sometimes he is too 'clever' in spite of his obvious sincerity. But since there are no long poems in existence that do not suffer from the same evil to a certain extent, it need not concern us much.

³ F. O. Matthiessen, *The Achievement of T. S. Eliot* (London 1935); H. R. Williamson, *The Poetry of T. S. Eliot* (1932); I. Donnelly, *The Joyous Pilgrimage* etc.

I shall now quote a few passages to show how perfect and pure Eliot's poetry can be occasionally. There is the passage at the beginning depicting the barren land :

What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no relief,
And the dry stone no sound of water ...

And here is the passage, reminiscent of Dante, which pictures the barren city in the morning :

Unreal city,
Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,
A crowd flowed over London Bridge so many,
I had not thought death had undone so many.
Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled,
And each man fixed his eyes before his feet.
Flowed up the hill and down King William Street,
To where Saint Mary Woolloth kept the hour
With a dead sound on the final stroke of nine ...

There is also the beginning of *The Fire Sermon* :

The river's tent is broken: the last fingers of leaf
Clutch and sink into the wet bank. The wind
Crosses the brown land, unheard. The nymphs are departed.

And note the picture of desolation in the following lines :

In this decayed hole among the mountains
In the faint moonlight, the grass is singing
Over the tumbled graves, about the chapel.
There is the empty chapel, only the wind's home.
It has no windows, and the door swings,
Dry bones can harm no one ...

One more aspect of this poem deserves attention. In it the reader will find quotations from or allusions to most of the poets to whom Eliot's poetry bears resemblance and to whom he owed most of his literary 'inspirations'. Baudelaire and Dante are the most noticeable. The line from Baudelaire's Preface to *Les Fleurs du Mal* 'Hypocrite lecteur! — mon semblable, — mon frère!' deserves special notice because of its implied irony. There is a certain irony towards the reader in the whole poem (one of the impure elements of the work), and I am certain that Eliot wrote his notes to the poem with his tongue in his cheek. Other poets referred to directly or indirectly are Shakespeare, Spenser, Webster, Marvell, Verlaine, John Day, Ovid, De Nerval, Kyd etc. But I repeat here what I have already said in connection with Eliot's erudition, i.e. that the reader need not at all be familiar with any of the poets mentioned in order to be able to appreciate the poetry of *The Waste Land*. The delight of being able to recognise allusions and to solve mere literary puzzles is an intellectual one, and has nothing to do with poetry as such. Eliot has certainly written many passages, notably in *The Waste Land*, which are only remarkable as clever puzzles and have hardly any poetical value at all.

As to the rest of his poetry I shall be brief. Several shorter poems appeared after *The Waste Land*. The most important of these is the collection of penitential poems entitled *Ash Wednesday*. They continue Eliot's spiritual development towards its logical conclusion. In *The Hollow Men*, a sort of appendix to *The Waste Land*, we have a final lamentation upon the disillusion of life and the worthlessness of modern man. But *Ash Wednesday* (1930) shows Eliot on his way away from poetical beauty to religious consciousness. Because he knows 'that time is always time' and because he 'cannot hope to turn again', because he can no longer believe in 'the infirm glory of the positive hour', he addresses himself to God:

And pray to God to have mercy upon us
And I pray that I may forget
These matters that with myself I too much discuss
Too much explain ...

He also appeals to the Holy Virgin, the 'Lady of silences', and confesses his unworthiness to the Lord and prays to Him for the word of delivery:

Lord, I am not worthy
But speak the word only.

The last words of the poem are: "And let my cry come unto Thee." The poem is full of resignation. Discontent and desolation have given place to humility and resigned hope. The puritan idealist at war with reality is coming home to the fold. But if this is to be considered a solution of a personal problem, it must not be forgotten that the solution is a very individual one. Verlaine could combine contrition with the love of earthly and poetical beauty, so could many others. But the puritan has to pay his own price. The harshness of his religious asceticism abhors the allurements of beauty which is closely allied to sin. If, therefore, in *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism* Eliot sees 'Coleridge's ghost beckoning to him from the shadows', we must remember that Eliot's imminent silence is due to quite other reasons than the silence of that unhappy figure of Coleridge. Coleridge simply lost his poetical faculty and drugged himself with opium and ill-digested German metaphysics. He was a victim of his silence. But Eliot has made a conscious choice.

The other minor poetry written after *The Waste Land* is also symptomatic of a growing sense of peace. There are still doubts and hesitations, but *Marina* is full of a serene hope:

let me
Resign my life for this life, my speech for that unspoken,
The awakened, lips parted, the hope, the new ships.

It is a beautiful poem. Two more poetical works must be mentioned. The first is *The Rock*, a pageant play, actually performed in 1934. It was written in collaboration with others. The play stresses the importance of the church. This fact speaks for itself. It is the last stage in the development to which I have referred repeatedly. *The Rock* contains much of Eliot's most perfect poetry, though it differs from his earlier poetry in that it is less intellectualistic and more expressive of intellectual humility. The Bible has strongly influenced the poet's rhythm and ideas:

You have seen the house built, you have seen it adorned
 By one who came in the night, it is now dedicated to God.
 It is now a visible church, one more light set on a hill
 In a world confused and dark and disturbed by portents of fear.
 And what shall we say of the future? Is one church all we can build
 Or shall the Visible Church go to conquer the world?

The reader will again notice how curiously these lines remind one of the rhythm and cadence of Blake's prophetic works. And just as Blake was often only a prophet, i.e. a person who announces his visions in prose without being able to let the reader share his vision by means of his poetry, so Eliot also often falls into prose unable to rise into poetry now that he is expressing his religious exaltation. A curious fact about *The Rock* as about the poetical play *Murder in the Cathedral* is Eliot's desire to express himself in a dramatic form. I consider this as expressive of a desire on the part of the poet to get away from his ego, to strive after that ideal poetry 'sans voix d'auteur' as Mallarmé called it. Most of the nineteenth century poets from Shelley and Keats onwards experienced a similar desire. I think this may be considered as a symptom of a genuine striving after pure poetry. As I have said *The Rock* contains many beautiful passages. The same holds good for *Murder in the Cathedral*, a poetical play, the subject of which is the assassination of Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral. The technique of the play is, rather significantly, based on the mediaeval Miracle Plays. Like *The Rock* this work contains much that is unsatisfactory from a poetical point of view, and much that is mere statement, prose. But some of the passages are by far the best and most mature poetry Eliot has ever written. In the first Chorus we find for instance the following perfect lines:

Winter shall come bringing death from the sea,
 Ruinous springs shall beat at our doors,
 Root and shoot shall eat our eyes and our ears,
 Disastrous summer burn up the beds of our streams
 And the poor shall wait for another decaying October.
 Why should the summer bring consolation
 For autumn fires and winter fogs?
 What shall we do in the heat of the summer
 But wait in the barren orchards for another October?
 Some malady is coming upon us. We wait, wait.

I need hardly point out that this perfection is most remarkable in passages reminiscent of Eliot's more desolate earlier poetry. When the puritan mind meditates upon decay and disaster, despair and resignation, it expresses itself in the purest poetry to be found anywhere in English literature.

The final impression we receive from Eliot's last two works is that he has reached port at last like the sailor in *Marina*. We may well wonder whether, now that the chief subject of his poetry has reached its logical conclusion, we shall ever again be surprised by anything new or anything of the same excellence. Most poets who were tormented by metaphysical and religious doubts lost their poetical faculty when their minds were set at rest at last. And one may well fear that the same will happen to Eliot. Philosophical and religious certainty are hardly ever productive of good poetry except in far more simple minds than Eliot's. We may, however, say that, independent of his further poetical output, Eliot has enriched

English poetry with some verse at least which is certain to survive with the best. No one who is at all interested in poetry is justified in avoiding his works because of their supposed obscurity. As I have said the real poetry to be found in his work is just as simple or just as obscure as any other great poetry.

Alkmaar.

D. G. VAN DER VAT.

Notes and News

Some Notes on Andrew Marvell's Garden

(The text of *The Garden* and of *Hortus* is quoted from the Margoliouth edition, Oxford 1927.)

- 1—8 *How vainly men themselves amaze
To win the Palm, the Oke, or Bayes;
And their uncessant Labours see
Crown'd from some single Herb or Tree.
Whose short and narrow verged Shade
Does prudently their Toyles upbraid;
While all Flow'rs and all Trees do close
To weave the Garlands of repose.*

amaze. The stronger sense 'craze', rather than 'bewilder', is suggested by *Hortus* 2: *Heu Palmae, Laurique furor*, where *furor* is the equivalent of *amaze*.

4. *single*. The deprecatory sense is emphasised in *Hortus* 3: *Arbor ... vix una*. There may be a hint of 'celibate', contrasted with the *closing* — *Hortus* 6 *coeunt* — of all *Flow'rs* and all *Trees*, a 'coitus' that might be expected to produce a multiplicity of garlands.

5. *short and narrow verged*. *Hortus* 4 *Tempora nec foliis praecingat tota malignis* suggests that the *shade* is *short* because the wreath does not go all the way round the head; *short* renders *Tempora nec tota*, *narrow verged* renders *malignis*.

6. *upbraid*. The main sense is of course 'reproach'. But I think there is word-play — *their Toyles* are 'braided up' into a wreath — brought out by the balance of the verses: *single* contrasted with *all*, *Herb* with *Flow'rs*, *Tree* with *Trees*, *Toyles* with *repose*, and *upbraid* with *weave*. The *Hortus* equivalent of *upbraid* is *praecingat* (4). Shakespeare's mind made some connection between 'upbraid' and a wreath or crown, though he has not used the connection for word-play. MND IV, 1, 56—58:

*I did upbraid her, and fall out with her.
For she his hairy temples then had rounded,
With coronet of fresh and fragrant flowers;*

H4B IV, 5, 156—7:

*I spake vnto the Crowne (as hauing sense)
And thus vpbraidit it.
191—2:*

*And I had many liuing, to vpbraide
My gaine of it, (i.e. the crown) by their Assistances*

H6A IV, 1, 156:

As well they may vpbray'd me with my Crowne.

These are four instances of seventeen when Shakespeare uses the verb 'upbraid'. The verbs 'braid' and 'embraid (imbraid)' can mean both 'reproach' and 'plait'.

7. *all Flow'rs and all Trees.* The emendation of the 1726 edition — *While all the flowers and trees* — which is also the reading of the *Golden Treasury*, is peculiarly unfortunate in view of *Hortus* 6: *Omnigeni coeunt Flores, integraque Sylva*. The 'alls' of the 1681 edition reflect *Omnigeni* and *integra*.

9—10. *Fair quiet, have I found thee here,
And Innocence thy Sister dear!*

Fair quiet. *Hortus* 7 *Alma Quies*. *Alma* shows Marvell is thinking of the 'favourable' as well as 'beautiful' sense of *Fair*.

Innocence thy Sister. *Hortus* 7-8 *Germana Quietis Simplicitas*. *Innocence* first hints the Garden of Eden motive. Cf 57-64 and W. Empson (*Some Versions of Pastoral* 1935 pp. 131-2) on 33-40, where he finds the 'Apple' and the 'Fall'.

25. *When we have run our Passions heat,*

It has been assumed (*Margoliouth* I, 219) that *Hortus* preceded *The Garden*, and it seems to me that two separate *Hortus* phrases have suggested the word-play in *heat*: *Invertitque faces* (34), with its suggestion of race-heat through the combination of the ideas of torch and fire; and *defervescente Tyranno* (38).

26. *Love hither makes his best retreat.* *Hortus* enables us to see in *retreat* a metaphor of the cloister, the sandalled monk walking up and down (*Hic Amor, exutis crepidatus inambulatus alis* 32), and of the field, the soldier giving up (*Enerves arcus & stridula tela reponens* 33).

29—30. *Apollo hunted Daphne so,*

Only that She might Laurel grow.

Only is clear from *Hortus* 46: *sed nil quaesiverat ultra*. The capital S for *She* may be compared to the capital H for *Hers* (22). In both cases, as throughout the poem, the capital seems to indicate stress; but nearly all the other capitalised words are substantives, and these two are the only capitalised pronouns. *Hers* appears to mock the solemnity of the lover who would capitalise a pronoun referring to his mistress as a Christian would one referring to God. And I think that in stressing *She* we are led to take it as a substantive — 'that femininity might become arboreality'. Were *She* but a pronoun, we should expect only one extra stress in the line — on *Laurel* — for there is no likelihood of the reader's thinking that *Apollo* might become a laurel. *Laurel grow*: *Hortus* 46 *Ut fieret Laurus*; but the English makes a little play with *grow* — that she might grow into a laurel and that she might grow as a laurel.

31—2. *And Pan did after Syrinx speed
Not as a Nymph, but for a Reed.*

These lines, with 29-30, conceal a slight contradiction in the poem which is characteristic of its not very serious intent. Apollo and Pan do not see in the laurel and reed objects of natural contemplation. Apollo, god of poets, is interested in laurel wreaths, the reward of poets; an interest condemned in the first stanza of the poem. And Pan wants the reed as a musical instrument (*Hortus* 48 *Hoc erat ut Calamum posset reperire Sonorum*). Cf. 52-6:

*My Soul into the boughs does glide :
There like a Bird it sits, and sings,
Then whets, and combs its silver Wings ;
And, till prepar'd for longer flight,
Waves in its plumes the various Light.*

The bird singing and preening images the soul self-absorbed in producing poetry, after the mind has withdrawn from the exterior world (41-48). Thus the Garden is after all not sought for itself alone, but to provide the milieu for verse-making; and Marvell is rather using a convention about nature than losing himself in nature — his Pan is not Pantheistic. He minces with nature (cf. my notes on 4, 6, 25, 30, 39-40, 48, 70, whose word-play largely conditions the total feel of the poem); and this mincing approach must be kept distinct from the mortally earnest approach to nature of a Romantic poet like Shelley. Thus the following remark of Palgrave (quoted by J. H. Fowler in his *Notes to Book II of the Golden Treasury*, but altered in the *World's Classics* edition) makes a dangerous confusion: 'Marvell here throws himself into the very soul of the Garden with the imaginative intensity of Shelley in his *West Wind*'.

39—40. *Stumbling on Melons, as I pass,
Insar'd with Flow'rs, I fall on Grass.*

Stumbling, *Insar'd* and *fall* would normally image sin to the Puritan in Marvell (cf. their Biblical uses); but in the Garden it is only on *Melons* that he stumbles, only by *Flow'rs* he is insar'd, only on *Grass* that he falls. Thus by contrasting the normal sin-associations of these words with his safe helplessness now, he presents the occasion as amiably ludicrous.

41—5. *Mean while the Mind, from pleasure less,
Withdraws into its happiness:*

The *pleasure less* is that described in 33-40, the fleshly pleasures of the Garden, which the Mind leaves for its own, superior kind. The stress in 42 is on *its*, since *happiness* has a sense parallel to that of *pleasure* (neither word is capitalised, as they would be if they were totally contrasted). Empson (loc. cit. pp. 124-5) interprets differently, contrasting *pleasure* and *happiness* too strongly, and taking *less* with *Mind* (the Mind less from pleasure); but his interpretation has the disadvantage of not identifying *pleasure less* directly with the previous stanza.

48. *a green Thought in a green Shade.*

green, as P. Legouis notes (*André Marvell* p. 123, footnote 160) can also have a slightly pejorative significance here — naive. Legouis builds nothing on this, but it is another of many indications that Marvell does not take his pastoral relaxation too seriously.

49—52. *Here at the Fountains sliding foot
Or at some Fruit-trees mossy root,
Casting the Bodies Vest aside,
My Soul into the boughs does glide:*

Fountains sliding foot translates a Latin image — *liquido pede labitur unda* Virg. Cat. 17. The plain fact of these four lines is that the poet lies down, cf. *Hortus* 32-5 *Amor ... exporrectus jacet*.

55. *till prepar'd for longer flight,*
This may mean till ready for the flight of death, which will separate it longer from the body than this temporary excursus into the tree; or till ready to compose a poem which will require a longer flight of the imagination than the present one.

67—8. *Where from above the milder Sun
Does through a fragrant Zodiac run;*

Hortus 52—4

*Sol ibi candidior fragrantia Signa pererrat;
Proque truci Tauro, stricto pro forcipe Cancri,
Securis violaeque rosaeque allabitur umbris.*

shows that *milder* means less dazzling than up in the sky, not as Fowler (*Notes to Book II*, p. 166) says 'somewhat mild'; and that *fragrant* must be stressed, meaning that the zodiac up there is not fragrant. Contrast the use of *run* in 68 with *To his Coy Mistress* 45-6:

*Thus, though we cannot make our Sun
Stand still, yet we will make him run.*

Hortus 52 *pererrat* confirms that the Garden *run* should not be given the force the word has in the *Coy Mistress* — the main stress in 68 is on *fragrant*.

69—70 *th'industrious Bee
Computes its time as well as we.*

Hortus 55—6

*Sedula ... Apis
Horologo sua pensa thymo Signare videtur.*

The bee can reckon out the time because it can visit only those flowers that are open; others, open at other times, are closed. *Hortus thymo* shows that the English has a pun on *time* — 'time' and 'thyme' (bees are excessively fond of thyme). The spelling 'time' for 'thyme' was common till the 18th cent: Shakespeare has 'time'. The pun requires a wider sense than 'calculate' for *Compute*; but such a wide sense existed in the 17th cent. — 'take into consideration' OED *Compute* v.1d. And that Marvell is in the punning mood just here is shown by the *Hortus Signare*, which he spells with a capital letter in order to bring out the punning reference to *Signa*, the signs of the zodiac, *Hortus* 52.

The purport of these notes is that Marvell's *Garden* has a considerably 'lighter' tone than is usually assumed. It is far from being a 'nature' poem in the 19th century sense. It has an air of 'Let's pretend' that makes it a less considerable poem than *To his Coy Mistress*.

A Note on Cacti (ii) ¹

Our note in the last Supplement has elicited response from more than one quarter. In acknowledgement of an offprint Miss Dorothy Sayers writes: "In the dramatic version of *Busman's Honeymoon*, you will find that Lord Peter does, at one point, humourously use the plural 'cactuses' by way of throwing more ridicule upon the spiky and unfortunate plant to which he is referring. I think the general rule in these matters is that the completely ignorant person avoids the word altogether, the person with a little learning is careful to stick to the correct form, while the person who is thoroughly well educated uses either form indifferently, according to the effect he means to produce."

Perhaps a more acceptable compound plural than the 'cactus-affairs' and 'cactus things' cited in our former note is found in the following quotation from Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (Tauchnitz, p. 81) supplied by Mr. W. A. Ovaas, of Rotterdam :

This enclosure was full of domesticated *cactus plants*.

* * *

So far we have restricted the discussion to the formal opposition: *cactus*—*cacti/cactuses*. That the function of the word *cactus* is not, however, exhausted by its designation of one single specimen as distinct from a larger number is suggested by the title of one of Miss Sayers's chapters: "Lotos and Cactus", and confirmed by a bit of dialogue on p. 151 of her story :

"I can't eat lotos, even with you," he said ...
"Have a nice mouthful of prickly *cactus* instead."

A good many examples of a similar use of *cactus* (and other plant names) have been supplied by Mr. Ovaas; we select some of the most noteworthy :

They found themselves in a bed of savage *cactus* whose fish-hooked leaves terminating in vicious quill-points prevented hasty extraction. (Ralph Bates, *Lean Men* I, Penguin Books, p. 84.)

They crouched among the *cactus*. (*Ibidem*.)

They crept out of the *cactus* and crossed the line. (*Ib.*, p. 85.)

But she found a place: a rocky bluff, shoved out to the sea and sun and overgrown with large *cactus*, the flat-leaved *cactus* called prickly pear. Out of this blue-grey knoll of *cactus* rose one cypress tree ... (D. H. Lawrence, *The Woman Who Rode Away*, Albatross, p. 29.)

The contorted *cactus* made a forest ... (*Ib.*)

She determined to take him with her, down to the cypress tree among the *cactus*. (*Ib.*, p. 35.)

It was like a country of dry ashes; no *juniper*, no *rabbit brush*, nothing but thickets of withered, dead-looking *cactus* and patches of wild *pumpkin*. (Willa Cather, *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, Tauchnitz, p. 84.)

... a thorny scrub, that was trailed over with blue *convolvulus* ... (D. H. Lawrence, *The Woman* etc., p. 56.)

Beyond the cotton-wood trees she could see, on each side, the steep sides of mountain-slopes hemming her in, sharp-plumaged with overlapping *aspen*, and higher up, with sprouting, pointed *spruce* and *pine tree*. (*Ib.*, p. 58.)

(Cf.: At first it was all rocks: then the *pine trees* began, and soon the silver-limbed *aspens*. *Ib.*, p. 66. — At length came grass and pasture-slopes between mingled *aspen* and *pine trees*. *Ib.*)

¹ Inserted here owing to lack of space in the Supplement.

Maidenhead fern, saxifrage and other little rock plants grew in the crevices of the rough terrace walls where the lizards lived; and in the wild edges the first of the poppies bent scarlet beside the last of the wild *narcissus*. In fifteen minutes he reached the end of the older vineyards and came to the little wood of tall trees, where the short grass was rich with white *violet* and *snowflake* and *cyclamen*. Beyond this, newer gardens had been cleared among the *arbutus* and dwarf oak which swept down almost to the sea-edge. (Richard Aldington, *All Men Are Enemies*, Albatross p. 387.)

There were little pots of flowers on the tiled wall, mostly *freeseias* and *cyclamen* (*ib.*, p. 399.)

For the 'classical' plant names the collective use here illustrated amounts to the neutralization of the formal opposition *cactus*—*cacti/cactuses* etc., though, as the last example shows, the (English) number form is sometimes preferred. *Juniper*, *pumpkin*, *aspen*, *spruce*, *fern*, *violet*, *snowflake* etc., however, cannot owe their collective function to any desire to escape the formal dilemma. Rather surprisingly, this use of plant names seems to have been overlooked by the Dutch grammarians; for even a brief discussion of it we have to turn to Jespersen. In vol. II of his *Modern English Grammar*, in a chapter somewhat ambiguously entitled "Meaning of Number", 5.25, after observing that "the names of many kinds of trees are used in the sg to indicate the corresponding kind of wood as material" (*oak*, *maple*, *ebony*, *bamboo* etc.), he goes on to say that "such names, as well as other names of plants, may also be used as mass-words to denote live plants (cf. *wheat*, *barley*, *corn*, etc.)." Jespersen's examples are, with only three exceptions (*hemlock*, *charlock* and *bracken*), confined to names of trees; there are no names of flowers among them. The playful use of *cactus* in *Busman's Honeymoon*, as if it denoted some kind of food, i.e. edible material, supports the comparison with *wheat* etc. on the one hand, *oak* etc. on the other. Most of the examples supplied by Mr. Ova, however, rather seem to point in another direction, viz. the alternation of the collective noun-stem with the inflected plural in the case of names of wild animals. The quotations from pp. 58 and 66 of *The Woman Who Rode Away* are specially instructive. The alternations '*aspen* ... and *pine tree*', '*the pine trees* ... and ... *the ... aspens*', '*aspen*² and *pine trees*', irresistibly recall such examples as: "*Snipe* rose at their feet" (Vachell, *Canyon*, p. 73), and: "The moorland was full of *snipes* and *teal*" (Blackmore, *Lorna Doone*, ch. 12), both supplied by Kruisinga in § 791 of his *Handbook of Present-Day English*, 5th ed. From the point of view of concord, however, the two groups differ fundamentally: as far as our evidence goes, collective plant names always agree with singular verbs and pronouns only, and cannot be preceded by plural numerals. The *Times Weekly Edition* for Jan. 19, 1917, is quoted by Kruisinga to the effect that "*Woodcock* are unusually plentiful in Devonshire this winter," while in its issue for April 12, 1918, the reader was informed that "The big purveyors were offering *six quail* or *snipe* for one coupon." As soon as we come across such statements as: "*Cactus* are plentiful in Mexico", or: "I have ordered a *dozen narcissus*", we shall have to take note of a new development in English syntax.

Z.

² Here *aspen* may have been meant attributively, whence the uninflected form.

Levin Ludwig Schücking. We tender our hearty, if slightly overdue congratulations to Dr. Levin L. Schücking, Professor of English in the University of Leipzig, on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday on May 29. It so happens that his book on *Hamlet*, of which an English translation appeared last year, is reviewed in this number of our journal. A fortnight ago a *Festschrift* of 452 pages was offered to Professor Schücking in the form of a special number of *Anglia*, with contributions by twenty-six, mostly German, scholars and on subjects ranging from the chronology of Old English runes to Santayana's *Last Puritan*. A bibliography of the *Jubilar's* own publications, composed by Dr. Walther Ebisch, has appeared separately (Leipzig, Alfred Lorentz, RM. 1.—).

Swiss Association of Teachers of English. The Swiss Association of Teachers of English held its first independent meeting at Neuchâtel on May 1st. Dr. A. Lätt (Zürich), in a lecture entitled *Our Cultural Relations with England and America. How can we help to improve them?*, offered a historical survey and numerous practical proposals, by which he hopes to spread the knowledge of things Swiss in the Anglo-Saxon countries.

An editorial committee was elected, which is going to take care of the series of English texts for school use published by A. Francke, Berne.

Reviews

Storia della Letteratura Inglese. Con 80 Illustrazioni e 53 Tavole Fuori Testo. Di MARIO PRAZ. 411 pp. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, Editore. MCMXXXVII. Lire 35,—.

This is a remarkable piece of work. Were it in English I do not myself know of any text-book that I should be more disposed to prescribe for use in University classes. Anyone acquainted with earlier works of Professor Praz knows how thorough is his knowledge, how competent his criticism, comparative and appreciative, of various fields of English literature, — the Pre-Romantics of the Eighteenth Century, the "Marinists" or "Meta-physicals", of the Seventeenth, the agitations of the Romantics. In this text-book for, I presume, Italian University students, he has surveyed the whole with a broad sweep, an excellent sense of proportion in his distribution of the subject, a thorough knowledge of what has been written on the various subjects and authors by other scholars, combined with a singularly independent and penetrating judgement. I have not always agreed with Praz's views in previous books nor in this text-book but I never disagree with him without recognizing that his judgement, always lucid and precise, has much to be said for it.

To begin with last things, Praz's bibliographies surpass anything of the kind in any text-book known to me. They are not only fuller and more accurate than those in *A History of English Literature* by Legouis and Cazamian (I have before me the revised edition, in English, of 1935) but Praz's bibliographies are real bibliographies, ordered and discriminating. Compare the bibliographical note to Chaucer on p. 134 of Legouis and Cazamian with that on pp. 28-9 of Praz's *Storia*. A good bibliography does not simply run over the names of various books as though they were all of the same value. It discriminates and thereby is a real guide to students. Praz's note is a condensed history of Chaucer criticism — the canon, the text, the sources, appreciations. The same is true of the bibliographical note on Shakespeare pp. 113-4 to which Praz prefixed an interesting history of the fortune of Shakespeare in Italy, important for his Italian students. And throughout the bibliographies are excellent e.g. on Milton. I have not hunted for errors, but I have read carefully and have noted so far only one slip. The *Eikonoclastes* is inadvertently placed (p. 161) among Milton's Latin controversial works. It was composed for home-consumption, and in English.

Coming to the text, the historical, biographical and critical portion of Professor Praz's volume, one is faced with the question to which, in a short space, I can return no complete answer, — what should be the scope of a textbook, how much especially is it to tell a young reader about the books to the study of which the text-book is to serve as an introduction. Saintsbury's *Short History* was never, I found, of much use to a young student. It was with Saintsbury a settled principle that the text-book must not tell the reader about the scope and contents of a work such as might enable a student to answer questions in an examination without having himself read the book. But without some brief analysis of a poem like the *Faerie Queene* or *Paradise Lost*, or a novel such as *Clarissa* (which, and not 'Clarissa Harlowe', is Richardson's title) how is one to adumbrate any useful guide to the study or relevant criticism of the book. When a young school-teacher I was sometimes tempted to say that if one did not already know the author or books referred to one could not understand Saintsbury, and if one did it was unnecessary to read Saintsbury or any other text-book. I retracted the last of these judgements because the more I knew of literature the more I found of sound appreciations in Saintsbury's work. He was an admirable "taster," and more than that because he could often tell you what was the special ingredient which gave to a book, the poetry of Donne or of Crabbe, its peculiar flavour good or less good. Praz has, I think, achieved and proportioned the different ingredients of a text-book. There is a brief but adequate introduction to each period justifying the title given to it. Succinct but accurate biographies of the greater writers in each period follow. Of important works which require it a clear analysis is given in smaller type of the contents, and criticism of the book and of the author follows, clear, penetrating, independent. Many of these criticisms are summaries of more or less accepted judgements, but Praz has either made them his own or is able to check them and differ from them on clear and intelligible grounds. But his criticisms are condensed. He does not run off into critical essays of the kind which an examinee might reproduce. The test of a candidate who has worked with this text-book would be whether he could expand and justify or pass

a relevant criticism on these condensed critical summaries. Let me cite just one or two. I shall translate, as it is the attention of non-Italian readers I wish to attract. "For Chaucer the world of the senses is no symbol of the invisible, but a universe beautiful and lovable in itself, not diminished by the fact that it is earthly and perishable. He knows how to contemplate and enjoy the earthly world with a serenity undisturbed by ultramundane preoccupations such as is not to be found in mediaeval writers. The "English Dante" rather than the "English Boccaccio" Chaucer may be called, not only because of the extent of his human comedy and the dramatic qualities which distinguish it, but also because he, the first in England, gave the splendour of literature to the vernacular and created as it were from nothing the technique of English verse." That seems to me excellent, and the whole comparison with Dante, a surprise to us misled by Arnold's talk about 'high seriousness', is both sound and illuminating. Or take Praz on a very English author whom and whose work, Taine could only gaze at in bewilderment, Samuel Johnson. "In Johnson, as in Addison, the classical rules form an entire unity with the religious and moral consciousness; but in Johnson an emotional, almost mystical note accompanies the moral dogma." I could cite, did space allow, other judgments, but this will suffice. I do not, of course, always agree with Professor Praz, but must not go fully into that either. I will just mention one divergence. He seems to underestimate Hazlitt the intensity of whose critical feeling, whether as admirer or hater, has for me a great appeal. *My First Meeting with Poets* is a biographical essay to which I know few rivals. The summing up of his criticism of Coleridge in *The Spirit of the Age* is probably the longest sentence in the English language, near eight-hundred words, and it is sustained throughout in its varying rhythms to the savage close: "And what has all of this ended in — swallowing doses of oblivion and writing for the Morning Post." Personally the present writer would give all of De Quincey except the *Opium Eater* and one or two of the essays for the best of Hazlitt, — De Quincey with his worked-up emotions, his over-laboured periods, his rigmaroles the chief purpose of which seems to have been the filling out of enough pages to earn an adequate fee.

There is another feature of Praz's work which must not be overlooked: his knowledge of the Italian background, and the French too, to so much English poetry. Anxious to verify such interrelations most of us are compelled to read for the purpose and are easily led into a failure in proportion. M. Praz has the subject at his finger-ends and can weigh and describe fully and judiciously.

The amount covered in this small book is itself remarkable if one considers the adequacy of the treatment. It is "from Beowulf to Virginia Woolf" as an American described a survey course. The illustrations too are excellent, from a mediaeval library at Oxford to D. H. Lawrence. A piquant, and characteristically Latin inclusion is a picture of Swinburne and Adah Menken. We should have had, if it had been practicable, Byron and La Guiccioli, perhaps Shakespeare and the Dark Lady.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

What Happens in Hamlet. By J. DOVER WILSON. viii + 334 pp. Cambridge University Press. 1935. 12s. 6d.

Der Sinn des Hamlet (Kunstwerk, Handlung, Ueberlieferung). Von LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING. iv + 132 pp. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer. 1935. RM. 3.40.

The Meaning of Hamlet. By L. L. SCHÜCKING. Translated by Graham Rawson. xii + 195 pp. Oxford University Press. 1937. 6s.

Prefaces to Shakespeare: Hamlet. By HARLEY GRANVILLE-BARKER. x + 329 pp. London: Sidgwick & Jackson. 1937. 10s. 6d.

It is late in the day to speak of books like these, which have already attracted the attention of all concerned — and who is not concerned? — which indeed have already been discussed by most of those who are particularly entitled to pass judgment upon them.

When even a longer account would lack both authority and originality, it may be pardonable to offer here, with due apologies, only a few words of praise, rather than appraisal.

Prof. Dover Wilson has perhaps never written anything that makes more delightful reading than this elaborate, this "peinlich genau", analysis of "what happens in *Hamlet*". Surely he must be one of the fortunate few with whom no weariness of the flesh supervenes on the making of many books. The first chapter takes us jauntily in the form of a playful letter to W. W. Greg on the road to Elsinore. And all along the journey — which so many travellers have performed under the guidance of so many critics — he manages to refresh our sense of wonder, and to erect quite a number of new sign-posts, suggesting both to actors and readers new interpretations of the fascinating old mystery. These interpretations run up and down the whole gamut, from what is central and essential to what is merely episodic and trifling; they include fresh constructions of entire scenes (like the "play-scene") as well as original glosses on single words (like "fishmonger" or "nunnery"); they are in many cases so deftly clever as to drive Prof. Wilson to exclaim (p. 186) — of course modestly attributing his cleverness to Shakespeare — "The subtlety of this is masterly in the extreme". Now, through all the intricacies which an exceptionally sharp intellect would seem to delight in multiplying rather than reducing in number — the shifting character of Hamlet's "antic disposition" is an old case, but I think of the double entry which is now suggested for II, ii, 160-170, or of the sudden import ascribed to the description of Lucianus in the Gonzaga play as "the King's nephew" — our brilliant pleader carries us along, or is carried along, by a kind of juristic inspiration, with an extraordinary gusto. Such an exploration of all the ways and by-ways of *Hamlet*, we are told, and readily believe, must have lasted for the better part of a number of years; but the narrative of it reflects none of the days of doubts and difficulties which cannot but have been encountered. There breathes from beginning to end of the book an alacrity, a youthful spirit of enterprize, a keenness on the scent which no fault seems ever to have

dulled. The printed page occasionally talks, in welcome moments of relaxation; it talks on all possible subjects — it may be the Nazi revolution in Germany, or it may be a chance conversation between two unsophisticated spectators, overheard in the gallery of some theatre; but in all essentials the work delivers its shrewd and packed reasoning with the swift and sure precision of utterance of a complete King's Counsel or Lord Justice unravelling the threads or summing up the pros and cons of an ideally difficult case. It is all tremendously exciting and impressive — even when on cool reconsideration you feel it wise to demur.

The "humour of it" is very different with Prof. Schücking. His book, no doubt, also aims, primarily perhaps — hence its unassuming title — at giving a full argument of the play; and this it does on a more continuous and regular scale. But it provides a more complete survey than Prof. Wilson's. A note on the sources, and a short chapter on the texts (emphasizing the author's view of the value of the much decried First Quarto), are appended. And five longer chapters of appreciation are prefixed — on the "baroque" element in *Hamlet* (a somewhat disputable German use of the term which has come very much to the front in the course of the last twenty years or so), on Shakespeare's personal outlook, on characterisation, style and dramatic construction; this introductory part is both weighty and attractive: it supplies most of the elements of that esthetic interpretation which Prof. Wilson has decidedly (though, let us hope, not definitely) laid aside in his four volumes — even the 1934 edition rather shirks this sort of "literary criticism". Possibly the German critic does not carry his enormous learning quite so lightly as his English contemporary, but I am not sure that he does not on the whole carry conviction more successfully, whenever something like conviction can be reached. Ingenious reinterpretations of details (whether it be the "sullied flesh" or the "fishmonger" in Prof. Wilson's exegesis) do not allure his somewhat conservative spirit. And a sort of courageous ingenuousness seems to dictate his cautious if a little plodding procedure in the treatment of the major motives of the play. The massive paragraphs of his German text have been subdivided, in the English edition, in a way which certainly makes for clearness; but he seems, on second thoughts, if anything more than ever prone to confess the obscurities which he has found on his way (cp. p. 38 of the one and p. 54 of the other). He admits for instance with perfect candour that "it is almost impossible to memorise the action of the first part of *Hamlet* with accuracy". And yet his memory must surely be of the best. It is one of the great charms of his commentary that it brings up a number of apt — and by no means trite — quotations from all quarters, German or English, great or small, as if his wide reading always stood him in good stead. Altogether, though a smaller volume, this is, especially in its English garb,¹ the richer book of the two.

¹ As Prof. Schücking has occasionally, particularly in the chapter on "construction", altered his earlier plan, and enlarged or modified his earlier disquisitions, this English version must now be considered as his more mature pronouncement. The difficult task of translation has been done very carefully and often very artfully. Some slips may be detected: e.g. p. 35: "Shakespeare, by making Hamlet (etc.) deprives his presentment of him in some measure of objectivity" — the German clearly means that it is Hamlet's judgment, "sein Urteil", that suffers in this way.

The "Preface" of Dr. Harley Granville-Barker, again, consists mainly of a running commentary on the three "movements" (convincingly substituted for the traditional five "acts") of the play. Here as in the author's previous volumes, the reader has the pleasant impression of being let into the secrets of a first-rate theatrical producer, who thinks and speaks, as no mere critic can possibly do, in terms of the stage. Introducing this central part of the book, some particularly subtle and original pages explain why a dramatic work — one that is written not for actors only but by an actor too — is more likely than any other to rest satisfied with hints which acting should develop, and not to dictate in a rigid imperious manner every little detail to those whose task it is, with the spontaneity and freedom which alone make things alive, to give the play its last finishing touches. This sense of the unavoidable and desirable elbow-room that must be left to the impersonator accompanies the reader from beginning to end of a rich volume of suggestions. There is, Mr. Granville-Barker says, no one correct way of speaking a line of a passage (p. 209), actors have to "play up" to the situations that are offered to them, and even to the words that are put on their lips by the dramatist (p. 60). This of course does not mean that our experienced mentor has not his own favourite interpretations to recommend, and even to prescribe in decisive tones. Perhaps he may occasionally set too little store by the historical conditions of this or the other minor element in the text (and I imagine that p. 235, commenting on the versification of I. v. 141, he forgets to take into account the fact that "soldier" could at that time be three syllables — cp. *Coriolanus*, I. i. 122). But though learning is by no means despised, life and light are always given first place in these fascinating discussions: their great, their unparalleled merit lies in the omnipresent feeling that literature here is the spoken word, that characters are essentially "on foot" (p. 124), with that elasticity of movement, with that constant interplay of tensions and relaxations, which vie with the pliancy of nature. It is quite wonderful to see (in the concluding chapter) what an animating spirit of this kind can do with the few dozen lines, sometimes with the few dozen words, which are given by Shakespeare to his lesser personages.

It is somewhat melancholy to reflect, at the end of an all too short review, that no fresh measure of certitude has been reached even by these, the most thorough investigations probably to which the play has ever been submitted. Nay, it might be said that new problems have been raised, rather than that old ones have been finally answered to the satisfaction of all; and on more than one important point our three doctors are found courteously but violently to disagree. An average man may perhaps take refuge in Keats's well-known praise of that "negative capability of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason" (letter of Dec. 21, 1817). Perhaps this inglorious attitude is all the more pardonable as (Prof. Wilson reminds us, p. 19) *Hamlet* is a "dramatic essay in mystery".

Strasbourg.

A. KOSZUL.

Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert Grierson. Oxford At the Clarendon Press, 1938. Pp. xv + 415, six illustrations. Price 21s.

Ancients and Moderns. A Study of the Background of the "Battle of the Books". By RICHARD FOSTER JONES. Washington University Studies, New Series, Language and Literature, no. 6. St. Louis, 1936. Pp. xi + 358. Price \$3.

The most characteristic features of the collection of twenty-three essays and a dedicatory poem (in Dutch, by P. C. Boutens) presented to Sir Herbert Grierson two years after his retirement from the chair of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh, are a reaction against that very vogue for the poetry of John Donne which he had largely contributed to bring about with his 1912 edition, and a defence of Milton against the attacks of the modern supporters of the Donne tradition. We can easily imagine Sir Herbert responding with a slightly quizzical smile (as in the portrait prefixed to this volume: a face which, should it turn to profile, would prove to have much in common with Erasmus) to the pleadings pro and against Donne or Milton; since he, one feels sure, in his catholic interest is above vogues and crazes, and, though he has done for Donne more than anybody else, has never gone Donne-mad, and, though he has recognized Milton's limitations, has not stopped offering tributes to him (any author who receives such tribute as that contained in *Milton and Wordsworth* can dare unpopularity).

One must admit that the attack on Donne, or rather on Donne-worship, by such a lucid mind as that of the author of *The Allegory of Love*, surpasses in ability whatever Miss Joan Bennett has to say for the defence. Miss Bennett's weak reply sounds very much like a late, tired wave of a tide on the point of withdrawing, whereas Mr. C. S. Lewis' attack, and the similar one by Professor Crofts in *Essays and Studies*, vol. xxii, have an aggressive point which does not augur well for the future fortune of the metaphysical manner. But this may be only an impression caused by a flagging defence.

Mr. Lewis does not mince matters about the modern dandyism (largely, he thinks, of Franco-American importation) which is responsible for the extravagant cult of Donne, and certainly hits a vital point when he maintains that that cult is mostly due to a kind of "literary Manichaeism — a dislike of peace and pleasure and heartsease simply as such". "We want, in fact, just what Donne can give us — something stern and tough, though not necessarily virtuous, something that does not conciliate." Donne, introduced at the right moment by Sir Herbert, has become in a way the sponsor for that well-known post-war mood which has found its chief expression in *The Waste Land*. Sir Herbert, to be sure, would have been appalled, rather than amused, if one had foretold him in 1912 that his handsome two-volume edition of a strange and forgotten genius would have helped to the process which was to be called "the end of bourgeois poetry"¹ by a brilliant Russian critic, D. S. Mirskj (of whom, we are afraid, nothing has been heard since the ominous news of his arrest in

¹ T. S. Eliot et la Fin de la Poésie bourgeoise, in the periodical *Echanges*, 1932.

Moscow last year). According to Mr. Lewis, it is chiefly the "serious" quality of Donne's poetry which has appealed to modern generations. A seriousness of a peculiar kind, which does not consist in profundity of thought or feeling, but in the performance, in deepest depression, of "those gymnastics which are usually a sign of intellectual high spirits". This definition makes us think of that character in Aldous Huxley's *Antic Hay* who spent a vast amount of energy in riding a bicycle fixed in the middle of a room. For Mr. Lewis, as for Prof. Pierre Legouis, the Donne touch is not in what he says, but rather in the way in which he says it. (Wyatt had already given an inkling of this manner, as others before Mr. Lewis had already recognized): "No poet, not even Browning, buttonholes us or, as we say, 'goes for' us like Donne ... This exacting quality, this urgency and pressure of the poet upon the reader in every line, seems to me to be the root both of Donne's weakness and his strength." Some malignant spirit might argue from this that no wonder Donne's poetry has become so popular with undergraduates, since "going for" the other interlocutors is the chief characteristic of undergraduate conversation. Another reason for Donne's popularity in our time is seen by Mr. Lewis in his attitude to love. Here the author of *The Allegory of Love* is on even firmer ground. The great central movement of love poetry, and of fiction about love, in Donne's time — Mr. Lewis maintains — is that represented by Shakespeare and Spenser: this movement consisted in the final transmutation of the medieval courtly love or romance of adultery into an equally romantic love that looked to marriage as its natural conclusion. "Precisely what is revolutionary and creative in it seems to us platitudinous, orthodox, and stale. If there were a poet, and a strong poet, alive in their time who was failing to move with them, he would inevitably appear to us more 'modern' than they." Thus a study of the development of love poetry throughout the ages would prove Donne not an innovator, but a laggard: "Donne never for long gets rid of a medieval sense of the sinfulness of sexuality." Mr. Lewis proceeds to illustrate Donne's point of view, which is the Roman Catholic one, since in Donne's time rigorism in this field was on the Roman, not on the Puritan side: this may sound odd to us, accustomed as we are to latter-day conceptions of the Puritan and the Roman Catholic. Donne's couplet about the god of Love:

If he wrong from mee a teare, I brin'd it so
With scorne or shame, that him it nourish'd not

seems to Mr. Lewis typical of his love poetry. "A few pieces admittedly express delighted love and they are among Donne's most popular works But the majority of the poems ring the changes on five themes, all of them grim ones — on the sorrow of parting (including death), the miseries of secrecy, the falseness of the mistress, the fickleness of Donne, and finally the contempt for love itself." Most of Donne's love lyrics are "monuments, unparalleled outside Catullus, to the close kinship between certain kinds of love and certain kinds of hate." For Mr. Lewis "Donne's real limitation is not that he writes *about*, but that he writes *in*, a chaos of violent and transitory passions"; the complexity of his poetry "is all on the surface — an intellectual and fully conscious complexity that we soon come to the end of ... there is none of the depth and ambiguity of real

experience in him." Donne shows us a variety of sorrows, scorns, angers, disgusts, and the like which arise out of love, but he omits the very thing that all the pother is about: in this sense Donne's love poetry is parasitic; it is Hamlet without the prince. Mr. Lewis's attack is not meant to destroy, but to qualify; he wants us "to beware of giving to this highly specialized and, in truth, very limited kind of excellence, a place in our scheme of literary values which it does not deserve"; he concludes by saying that "the very qualities which make Donne's kind of poetry unsatisfying poetic food make it a valuable ingredient."

The chief points of Miss Bennett's reply to Mr. Lewis are: that Donne's poetry is not about the difference between marriage and adultery, but about the difference between love and lust, that far from being "perpetually excited" on the surface, he is capable of relishing keenly the deeper experiences of love, that Mr. Lewis is wrong in supposing that modern readers are insensitive to rhythm in poetry, and therefore that Donne "might be bad to any degree without offending the great body of his modern admirers." Miss Bennett makes a good case for her interpretation of *Elegy XVI* on the grounds of rhythm; but, taken as a whole, her paper fails to destroy the impression left by Mr. Lewis's serried arguments. The chief supporter of the excellence of the metaphysical poets, T. S. Eliot, contributes to the Festschrift *A Note on Two Odes of Cowley*, which illustrates one of the points made by him in his Clark lectures at Cambridge many years ago; it is a small fragment of an ambitious work on the Metaphysicals which Mr. Eliot had planned to write and finally gave up. Cowley, for this critic, is a typical figure of transition; as a poet he is derivative from the metaphysicals, as a mind he belongs to the Restoration; he was comparatively successful in the Pindaric ode. In fact, Cowley announces to a large extent the oncoming of the neo-classical taste; his *Davideis* is called by Prof. E. M. W. Tillyard in his essay on *Milton and the English Epic Tradition*, "the first original poem in English to affect the growingly fashionable neo-classic form in all its strictness and using the couplet in a new and vital way." How far Milton himself went to satisfy the canons of neo-classicism, such as they had been formulated in Italy, the writer of the present review has tried to show in a study of *Milton and Poussin*. Thus, while Mr. Lewis has qualified modern enthusiasm for the poetry of Donne by considering it against its cultural background, the authors of the essays on Milton have attempted to react against the present unpopularity of the poet of *Paradise Lost* by showing his art as the result of cultural influences rather than of personal idiosyncrasies. This latter was Mr. Eliot's view in a *Note on the Verse of John Milton* published in *Essays and Studies*, xxi; Laurence Binyon replies to it now with arguments based on internal evidence which integrate the historical arguments produced by the other two contributors on Milton.

Round the essays on Donne and Milton, which form the core of the volume, and make of its date, we believe, an important one in the history of taste, are grouped a number of studies, each one of them excellent in its way, which illustrate aspects of the literature, art, and thought of the seventeenth century. Canon Hutchinson studies the fortune of the poems of George Herbert and cautions us against taking the order of those poems in Palmer's edition as chronological; he sees Palmer's chief merit in his stressing the note of conflict in Herbert's life and writings. Prof. L. C.

Martin studies sources and analogues for Henry Vaughan's theme of infancy, and explains Wordsworth's similar treatment of the theme in his *Immortality Ode* through the influence of Coleridge who was acquainted with the same traditions of thought and sentiment which lay behind the conception of *The Retreate*. Some information about Baroque continental literature is to be found in the essays by Prof. Rudmose-Brown on *A French précieux lyrist of the early seventeenth century: Pierre Motin*, by Prof. Barnouw on Joost van den Vondel, by Prof. Trend on *Calderón and the Spanish Religious Theatre of the Seventeenth Century*. Prof. Pierre Legouis writes on Corneille and Dryden as dramatic critics, Prof. Sisson on King James the First of England as poet and political writer, Mr. H. S. Goodhart-Rendel on English architecture during the seventeenth century, Sir Donald Francis Tovey on the principles which govern the musical setting of words, Mr. H. W. Garrod on Phalaris and Phalarism. Finally, as it should be expected in a volume prepared in a Scottish University, there is a number of essays on philosophical subjects: *Bacon and the Defence of Learning* by Prof. Geoffrey Bullough, *Bacon's Part in the Intellectual Movement of His Time* by Dr. Rudolf Metz, *An Apology for Mr. Hobbes*, where Prof. Taylor shows that Hobbes's whole concern, in his ethical theory, is not to undermine the foundations of a morality of duty, but to secure them as thoroughly as his nominalist metaphysics will allow him to do, *Pascal in Debate* by the Rev. H. F. Stewart, *The Limits of Locke's Rationalism* by Prof. R. I. Aaron, *Leibnitz and the Fitness of Things* by Prof. L. J. Russell, and *The Turn of the Century*, a remarkable essay where Mr. Basil Willey examines some of the uses to which the idea of "Nature" was put at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and studies the "climate of opinion" produced by the scientific movement and the gradual shifting off of the dead weight of antique authority.

The first two and the last of the philosophical essays we have just mentioned deal with the same theme as Prof. R. Foster Jones' book which traces the history of the idea of science in the seventeenth century, with the ultimate aim of strengthening his thesis that the quarrel out of which Swift's *Battle of the Books* sprang had its roots in the conflict between the new science and old learning, and not in France. Like Mr. Willey's, this is a study in "the climate of opinion" extending from the Elizabethan period to the year 1672, when Newton's first communication to the Royal Society inaugurated another and distinct age in the development of science. Perhaps the most significant ideas destined to be expressed some years later by Bacon were stated clearly and convincingly by William Gilbert in his epoch-making book on magnetism and the compass, *De Magnete*, 1600: the attack on the authority of the ancients; impatience with those who copy books in lieu of observing nature; and the importance of inductive experiments. But only Francis Bacon succeeded in turning the face of the learned world from the past to the future; as Dr. Metz writes in his essay in the Grierson Festschrift volume, the new intellectual atmosphere was created by the fact that a man holding high office as a statesman and of considerable scientific reputation constituted himself the champion of the new research through the powerful medium of a remarkable and persuasive style. It mattered little that, as Prof. Bullough has shown in *Bacon and the Defence of Learning*, he was led to write the first formal presentation of his great scheme by motives more worldly than disinterested, and that

The Advancement originated in a debate of a practical kind, the debate on life and learning which took place between the two factions at court, the Essex group and "The School of Night". It mattered little that Bacon's outlook remained to a large extent in the past, that he was not acquainted with the mathematical nature of modern science, that there was a wide gulf between his scientific ambition and his actual possibilities. The daring novelty was the note of pragmatic utilitarianism of the Baconian philosophy, a trait Bacon had derived from Machiavelli (see on this point Prof. N. Orsini's important study, *Bacone e Machiavelli*, Genoa 1936); thus the leading *Kulturwert* — writes Dr. Metz — was no longer art, but technics. After having dealt with the idea of the decay of nature, which was at the bottom of the worship of antiquity (incidentally, this chapter is to be read in connexion with Donne's *First Anniversary*), Prof. Foster Jones throws into relief those ideas of Bacon which inspired and stimulated the progressive minds of the second and third quarters of the century; Bacon's influence was to be revealed in all its potency during the period of Puritan supremacy; in fact, Prof. Foster Jones suggests that our modern scientific utilitarianism is the offspring of Bacon begot upon Puritanism. "Serve God and grow rich" could have been the motto of the Puritans. Serve God by studying the Bible untainted by secular philosophy; grow rich by embracing the experimental philosophy which held out a rich promise of material benefits. It is not a far cry from this phase to the modern conception of Mr. Henry Ford. In fact, one can see anticipations of Fordism in the activities of Samuel Hartlib which are described at length in one of Prof. Foster Jones' most entertaining chapters. Inspired by Bacon, puritanically minded Hartlib planned "An Office of Publicke Adresse in Spiritual and Temporall Matters" with a twofold function: to serve as "an Adresse of Communication for Spiritual matters" and as "an Adresse of Accomodations for Bodily matters", this latter being a combination employment bureau, advertising agency, real estate exchange, and the like, in short, a means of bringing sellers and buyers together. Among other details, Hartlib had provided also for a tourist agency where strangers might receive their mail, be informed of the best inns, and buy travellers' cheques and hotel coupons. For all his tireless activity, Hartlib was ignored by the group which founded the Royal Society; his Puritan affiliation could not be forgotten by a movement which was under the auspices of the restored King; science wished to strike piety out of the slogan "the advancement of learning and piety" which had been the Puritan creed. Even with a royal patent as a protection, the Royal Society had to fight hard in defence of the experimental philosophy against the conservative elements assisted by the anti-Puritan reaction. Prof. Foster Jones gives us a chronological record of the long struggle and the untiring propaganda of the new science which reached its climax in Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*, 1667; the extremes to which enthusiasm for the new science went are quite apparent in the analogy which Sprat draws between science and the Christian religion; God is almost made an honorary member of the Royal Society, since miracles are called "Divine Experiments". Already in the seventeenth century the new science was revealing the grotesque aspects with which we have been made familiar by the positivists of the nineteenth: the belief that experimental science could "moralize" men led Gassendi to claim that he learned to control his passions

by observing how all the blood of a louse when angered ran into its tail. George Thomson's slogan "Works, not words" sounded a much needed note in the seventeenth century, most of all in the field of medicine to which Thomson belonged; the same slogan, illustrated by Macaulay in one of his essays where he imagines a disciple of Epictetus and one of Bacon travelling together, has all the ludicrous simplism of the positivist creed.

... They find a shipwrecked merchant wringing his hands on the shore. His vessel with an inestimable cargo has just gone down, and he is reduced in a moment from opulence to beggary. The Stoic exhorts him not to seek happiness in things which lie without himself, and repeats the whole chapter of Epictetus *Πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἀπορίαν δεδοικότας*. The Baconian constructs a diving-bell, goes down in it, and returns with the most precious effects from the wreck. It would be easy to multiply illustrations of the difference between the philosophy of words and the philosophy of works.

When we have heard the triumphal tune which concludes Prof. Foster Jones' book: "When this class [the bourgeoisie of puritan origins] rose to greater power in the eighteenth century ... those attitudes which flourished in the third quarter of the seventeenth century — utilitarianism, humanitarianism, democracy, and the like — resumed their onward march", we must keep in mind where the onward march was leading to — among other things, to Pangloss Macaulay.

Rome.

MARIO PRAZ.

Die englische Biographik der Tudor-Zeit. Von DR. MARIE SCHÜTT. (Britannica, ed. Emil Wolff. Heft I.) 162 pp. Hamburg: Friedrichsen, de Gruyter & Co. 1930. RM. 10.—.

The art of biography in England has, for all its Boswells, its Lockharts and Morleys and its great general wealth of fine work, not yet found its historian. There are studies on some of its aspects by essayists and theoreticians, there is also a short study, *The Development of English Biography* by Harold Nicolson (1927) and an earlier one by Waldo H. Dunn, which appeared in *Channels of English Literature* (1916), but there is no scholarly history of biography as a form of literary art and as a record of the changing conception of human personality in the past. There is no need to emphasize the value of such a book; the light it would probably throw on the development of consciousness would alone render it invaluable. As long as it remains unwritten we shall not know much about the individual life of the past, of individual as distinct from abstract social history and of that form of art which, standing somewhere between memoirs and essays on the one hand and formal history on the other, has provided novelists and dramatists with the raw material of life and circumstance.

It is true that some rather forbidding obstacles lie in the way of the student in this field. He must first traverse the jungle of antiquarian research in family history, the desert of political pamphlets and memoirs and the arid heights of hagiography. To do this thoroughly and still to keep

the freshness and vigour of psychological insight and the sense of form unimpaired, requires all the resources of a fine scholar. Alois Brandl, that pioneer in the field of English studies in Germany, was the first to go into the beginnings of English autobiography. His study (*Sitzungsber. d. pr. Ak. d. Wiss. Phil-hist. Kl.* 1908) was later supplemented by one of his pupils (Hendrichs, *Die Geschichte der englischen Autobiographie von Chaucer bis Milton*. Diss. Berlin. 1925).

Dr. Marie Schütt has studied the beginnings of modern English biography under the Tudors, and in an extraordinarily able and solid treatise gives a full account of the literary portraits that have come down to us from Renaissance England. Although the publication of her treatise dates back to 1930 we feel justified in drawing the reader's attention to it, both on account of its subject and of the quality of its workmanship, for here is indeed cause to rejoice over a piece of research well done and ably set forth.

The dominant theme of this study is the adaptation of classical and mediaeval forms of literary portraiture, with the conception of man which they embody, to the new type of man and the new sense of personality that arises under the Tudors. Together with the other methods of representing personality, the engraved and painted likeness and the bust, the literary portrait had a large share in the revival of the arts.

The first to break the anonymity of the Middle Ages were the humanists, whose ambition for literary fame and immortality gave the first impulse towards secular biography. Henceforth the praise of the scholar is sung in his "Life" or in the rhetorical form of the encomium or elogium — Erasmus praising Colet and More in his letters, More praising Pico in the translation of an Italian "Life", Lily praising More, Fisher and Linacre in his *Elogia*, Ascham being praised by Grant, and so on, down to the rhetorical exercises of the disciples and the boys of Westminster School. The great models were Suetonius in his lives of the Caesars, as model of the formal analysis of character and Plutarch as master of that higher form of biography which follows the process of creative art in showing character in action.

The influence of these classical models (to which that of the encomion of Isocrates must be added) is hardly to be understood without continually keeping in mind the fashion of those days, which was all for Rhetoric and the formal graces of speech. The influence of the ornate eloquence of the humanist and of the Cambridge rhetoricians accounts for much of the stiffness of these early biographies. More than half of them are lives of scholars in the humanist style, usually cast in the Suetonian mould with enumeration of qualities, a style better fitted for the uneventful lives of these men than that of Plutarch.

In this otherwise unexciting record of a quiet form of literature there is one astonishing figure holding an altogether unique position. It is hard to imagine anything greater in this sphere than the achievement of More, who, after writing the greatest biography of his age, gives rise to endless other biographies by the greatness of his passing. (Of no other man were so many "lives" written in the 16th century as of More, the scholar and martyr.)

As a biographer More started with the traditional form by translating an Italian Life of Pico della Mirandola. In his second biography he turned to the richer vein of the Plutarchian "Life" and in his open and powerful

mind brought this to bear on those reminiscences of Richard the Third's character and reign that had been imparted to him in his youth by Cardinal Morton. The result was the first Plutarchian biography in English literature, the sombre and powerful fragment of the *History of Richard III*, written by More both in a Latin and a (slightly longer) English version.¹ Character (conceived as fixed and fateful) is the prime mover and is grasped so fully that Shakespeare found little to change when he turned to the subject of Richard III.

Many other features of this valuable study might be dwelt on: glimpses of the interrelation of biography and essay (in connection with Bacon and that other remarkable biography of the age: Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*); the effect of chronicles on biographies, particularly the rhymed ones, showing that verse proved a more "modern" and alert medium than formal Elizabethan prose. There are many intelligent and some revealing remarks both on the nature of biography proper and on some of the historical and psychological aspects of the matter. It is sincerely to be hoped that Dr. Schütt may one day find time to return to her subject and give us the complete history of biography of which she holds out some hopes in her preface. Her latest contribution, on 16th & 17th century accounts of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, is to be found in volume 13 of the "Britannica" series of studies in English (1936), the same series in which her earlier study appeared.

St. Gallen.

MAX WILDI.

Joseph Glanvill, ein spekulativer Denker im England des 17. Jahrhunderts. Von HARTWIG HABICHT. 183 pp. Zürich. 1936.

The background of the 17th century has often been discussed in recent years, and to a certain degree Dr. Habicht in his study also concentrates upon the main currents of seventeenth-century thought. His aim, however, is not only to give us a general survey of the leading ideas of the baroque age, but also to bring the reader into close contact with a writer who certainly belonged among the minor spirits of the time, but nevertheless deserves attention for the many contradictions in his life and work, which nobody as yet has really been able to explain. On the one hand Glanvill's intellect grasped the most recent discoveries in natural science, on the other he was a fanatical defender of witchcraft and all sorts of occultism. In Dr. Habicht's opinion, the explanation of this peculiar polarity lies in the fact that as far as the physical universe was concerned, Glanvill was a rationalist and a speculative thinker, but in all transcendental matters he was convinced of the limitations of human knowledge and hostile to all rational religion. At all events he was a typical example of the dualism of the age, as is shown by Dr. Habicht in his study. The result is a book with the main theses of which the reader will agree, though the numerous

¹ Cf. the article by W. A. G. Doyle-Davidson on "The Earlier English Works of Sir Thomas More" in this journal, vol. XVII (1935), 49-70. — E.d.

by-paths sometimes make the really important things recede too much into the background. It must not be forgotten that so many works have recently appeared as valuable contributions to an understanding of the 17th century that one becomes a little impatient in coming across again and again chapters on such general subjects as "Die Anfänge der neueren Philosophie und die Schule von Cambridge". When Dr. Habicht comes to the investigation of details, we are only too willing to follow him.

First of all there is Glanvill's relation to Descartes, whose influence on him was rather important. Dr. Habicht is perfectly right in his statement that it was chiefly the order and precision of his method that attracted Glanvill's interest (p. 43), whereas with regard to fundamentals the two writers remain poles apart. The problem of the relation between science and religion leads to a dangerous clash. Most writers of the time try to overcome the conflict either by approaching science from a religious point of view or by introducing scientific methods into religion. Glanvill was quite modern as far as pure science is concerned, as Dr. Habicht points out in his fourth chapter. He belonged among those who were greatly in advance of their contemporaries by acknowledging the great impulses of the new discoveries, especially William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood (p. 116), but it is rather interesting to learn that his "Weltanschauung" by no means profited by it (cf. his saying that the inner frame of the body is "a yet undiscovered region", *Scepsis Scientifica*, p. 36 ff).

To Glanvill the soul was of greater importance than the body. Like More and the other Cambridge writers he believed it to have an existence distinct from the body long before man's birth. Dr. Habicht considers this belief as the most important factor in the doctrine of original sin as far as Glanvill is concerned. That is quite a new perspective, and it cannot be denied that his arguments are convincing. To understand this fully, it must always be considered how many different ideas held sway in the minds of 17th-century people. These were often diametrically opposed, but sometimes attempts were made to reconcile them with one another, as was especially the case with regard to Platonism and Puritanism. Certainly the belief in the pre-existence of the soul is first of all a Platonic idea, as shown constantly in the writings of Henry More, whereas the doctrine of original sin is mainly Puritan. In Glanvill's writings, however, these two opposing ideas are felt not as inconsistencies but as different aspects of the same spiritual phenomenon.

All attempts to combine and unite, however, did not diminish the dualistic character, and all compromises and alliances did not put an end to the conflict between what the one thought extreme error and the other perfect truth. The more sceptical people were, the more difficult it was for them to cling to absolute principles. Glanvill himself, who was an ardent champion of reason, ended as a believer in witchcraft. In a long and detailed chapter Dr. Habicht brings all his learning to an attempt to solve the numerous riddles connected with this dualism. His chief thesis is that Glanvill, in search of proofs for the existence of God and afraid of Atheism, defended superstition, though, true to his ingrained habits of thought, he did so in rather a rationalistic way (p. 153). Furthermore — and this also represents a very interesting point of view — it was the spirit of empiricism that strengthened his opinions. He believed it necessary to trust his senses, which had given him many proofs of the existence of

supernatural phenomena (p. 156). These different tendencies cooperated in his work, which to this extent may be called a typical product of the mentality of the age.

In spite of some lack of concentration and a rather complicated style Dr. Habicht's book is very instructive. Its author has shown much industry and ingenuity in solving the contradictions of a very original writer of the 17th century.

Breslau.

P. MEISSNER.

Laurence Sterne und sein Einfluss auf die englische Prosa des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Von FRIEDRICH BEHRMANN. 143 pp. Zürich. 1936.

This treatise, which was originally undertaken as a piece of research work for a Doctorate in the University of Zürich, bears all the marks of the average thesis of this kind. It is thorough and workmanlike, clear and well-digested, without being in any way strikingly original. It shows a close acquaintance with the writings of Sterne, as well as with most that has been written upon him from his own day to the present time, while the author is well read in the minor prose literature of the late eighteenth century. His object has been to trace out the influence exerted by Sterne during his life-time and the thirty-odd years that followed, and taking his work as a whole, we may say that he achieves that object satisfactorily, though at times we are apt to feel that his methods are somewhat mechanical and monotonous. But that, perhaps, is a defect inseparable from the subject. Dr. Behrmann must have put a great deal of hard work and patient research into his book, and they have not gone unrewarded.

His first section deals with the general criticism of Sterne and his works up to the year 1800, noting how hostility on moral grounds during his life-time gradually gave place to growing appreciation after his death, until by the end of the century critics took his novels seriously enough as works of literature to approach them in something of a scholarly spirit, comparing them with the writings of Cervantes and Le Sage, examining their style and structure, and hunting out sources for their ideas and characters. In 1800 a correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine* even went so far as to suggest that it was a reproach to the English people that Sterne had no monument in Westminster Abbey!

In the second section Dr. Behrmann examines Sterne's style, emphasising his natural dialogue, his humour, his sentiment, his appeal to the imagination, and the unity of idea and purpose underlying the apparent disconnectedness of his writings, all of them something new in the art of the novel, which was still in its embryo stage. He was, he declares, an original writer in an age which was overloaded with formality, and in his determination to "let people tell their stories in their own way; to begin with the first sentence and trust to Almighty God for the second", he was one of the earliest of our expressionists. The comparison, of course, cannot be pressed too far, but there is probably something to be said for it; at least, it seems deserving of further examination and discussion.

After this follows a section on the imitations of Sterne between the years 1770 and 1800 (the author says that altogether he has found ninety of them), and another on imitations of the *Sentimental Journey*, which was by far the most popular of his works. Some of the more important of these imitations are analysed and their particular debt to Sterne pointed out. Not many of them are of any real importance today, but they at least bear out the author's contention that at one time Sterne was a minor cult. Works of more intrinsic value — such as Mackenzie's *The Man of Feeling* — appear in the chapter on sporadic influences; and finally there are a few pages devoted to the periodicals of the day, followed by a full list of eighteenth-century prose works influenced by Sterne, arranged chronologically, alphabetically, and according to authors.

At this point Dr. Behrmann's real subject ends, but he appends a discussion on the authorship of the *Second Journal to Eliza*, in which he weighs up the evidence adduced up to date, and concludes by advancing his own view that the letters purporting to come from Yorick to Eliza are genuine Sterne productions, though into the question of the authorship of the others (Eliza to Yorick) he declines to enter, pleading in excuse that it is not relevant to his thesis. This may be so, yet at the same time one feels that there is something lacking in a treatise on two thirds of a book, which refuses to consider the remaining third. After all, the letters in question seem quite as relevant to Sterne, if not more so, than some of the imitations which Dr. Behrmann goes to such pains to discuss.

Sheffield.

FREDERICK T. WOOD.

Studies on Coordinate Expressions in Middle English. By URBAN OHLANDER. (Lund Studies in English V.) 213 pp. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup. 1936. Kr. 10.

This book provides a valuable addition to our knowledge of a largely neglected branch of Middle English syntax. It is based upon a painstaking reading of the major part of Middle English literature. On the other hand, its scope of systematic investigation is limited to the Middle English period, the stray Old English and Modern English quotations, adduced for the sake of comparison, being of a more casual nature.

The material is arranged with a view to bringing out both the logical and the formal aspect of coordination in Middle English. This principle is a sound one, for every coordinate expression may be looked upon as a syntactic unit representing a logical relation between members of certain types of formal structure. Normally coordination, in theory at least, consists of expressions in conjunction, similar in form, and logically so evenly balanced that they do not require any more precise connective word than the copulative conjunction *and*. Such a neat manner, however, of coordinating ideas is not the one always practised by a language. The Middle English idiom, for instance, abounds in examples of coordination in which, at least from a modern point of view, a different type of combination would be required to give an adequate expression to the relation between

the members. Moreover, in this language the parts coordinated are often formally disparate, sometimes in such a degree as to obstruct seriously the understanding of the passage in which they occur. Such departures from the normal type of coordination are features characteristic of ME sentence-structure and therefore well worth the systematic treatment given to them in the book under review. According to this reasoning, the author's classification of the subject-matter under the following two main headings is well justified, viz. Part I: Coordination by means of *and* instead of an exact expression of the logical relation; Part II: Asymmetrical coordination.

The first part of the book, which I think is the more interesting and important one, deals with the different relations that may exist between coordinate members. The chapters are headed: the adversative relation, the cause and effect relation, the final relation, the temporal relation, *and* introducing the equivalent of a relative clause, *and* introducing the equivalent of an object-expression, *and* after adjectives. The two principal methods of determining the logical relation between coordinate members are contextual analysis and translation or paraphrase of the passage under investigation. The author is familiar with both these methods, which, as a rule, he handles with delicacy and sound judgment, aptly supplementing them, when possible, with evidence provided by different readings. He does not, however, always appear to be able to decide whole-heartedly which of the two methods it is preferable to follow.

The author's handling of the material is shown to best advantage in Ch. II (the cause and effect relation). In the first section of this chapter he deals with coordinate expressions in which the result is represented as real, e.g. *And anopir he slang azeyn a wal And þer he dyede among heom al. Troye 1735.* In examples of this kind the second member generally corresponds to a clause of result. Cf. the Egerton version of the same passage: *Anoper he slong azens þe walle þat he was dede among hem alle.* In section B the author discusses examples in which the effect is represented as dependent on a condition contained in the first coordinate. In most of such cases the first coordinate contains a volitional expression, which at the same time fulfils the function of a clause of condition, e.g. *Lorde, gife me grace ... And I wole delyuer the this place. Lowdone 633* = 'Lord, if thou givest me grace, I will deliver to thee this place.' This category shows a great variety in regard to form and character. An interesting type is the one in which the first coordinate has the form of a question (p. 62 ff.), e.g. *Wol ze graunte ous to owre lyues And owre children and owre wyues And alle owre godis euer-meo, And we schal lete zou in-to þe cite. Troye Lincoln's Inn MS. 1905.* Cf. the Arundel MS.: *Yf ze wol graunte our lyues ..., We shul lete zow in fare.* The same lucid manner of presenting the material is observed by the author in Ch. III (the final relation), where he has singled out for treatment coordinate expressions in which the second member corresponds to a final infinitive, e.g. *Rise up and come þi-self and se! CM Cotton MS. 5152 (p. 75).* Cf. the Göttingen MS.: *Ris vp and cum þi-selue nou to se!* But the coordinate expression is not merely described as an equivalent of an imperative + a final clause: 'it amounts in fact to a condensed expression

for two ideas, one, that of an independent request, actually expressed, the other, that of finality, strongly implied by the context" (p. 74).

In some cases the author shows a marked preference for the translation or paraphrasing method at the expense of the analytic examination of the context. This is especially true of Ch. I (the adversative relation), whose multiplex and unwieldy material is classified according to the possibility of paraphrasing one of the coordinates by a *but*-clause, a concessive clause, a *without*-construction, a *while* (*whereas*)-clause, or an explanatory clause. This classification is cleverly contrived and skilfully put into practice. Yet, it may be doubted whether it goes deep enough to make it more than a preliminary introduction to the subject. For although the substitution of words like *but*, *though*, *without*, *while*, *whereas*, etc. may be of great help in establishing the logical relation between coordinate members, the vagueness of their meaning and the wide range of their application make these words inadequate as exact expressions of different shades of adversative relation (note especially *without*). A classification built up on such flimsy grounds must be supported by solid argument based upon careful analysis of the examples. Why, for instance, is *but* the only substitute for *and* in the following example: *He wolde haue smiten otuwel, And he blenkt swiþe wel*, Sir Otuel 460 (p. 15), whereas the coordination may be replaced by a concessive period in this passage: *Eft ho mened hir mane and Ioseph was ay in ane*, CM 4278 (p. 16)? The author's statement (p. 17) that in the latter type of coordination 'the adversative relation is intensified' hardly takes us to the root of the matter. An examination of the material will show that the examples belonging to the *but*-group are mainly of two types. One of them consists of cases in which one link is missing, e.g. Libaeus 674, Cant. F 287, Nicodem. 424 (p. 14). The second type includes cases in which the first (rarely the second) coordinate refers to something wished for or expected, etc. that is frustrated, e.g. Sir Otuel 460, quoted above. The majority of cases belonging to the *but*-group (p. 15 ff.) is of this type. (A few examples which do not fit in with the characteristics given should properly be placed in some other group, e.g. Gen. & Ex. 1031, Gy 1839, Guy A4536.) It is easy to understand why a *but*-group example of the latter type cannot rightly be turned into a concessive period, inasmuch as what is wished for, expected, or believed by a person cannot be considered as an obstacle to an event giving the lie to the wish, expectation, or belief. An investigation of all the groups along similar lines would no doubt result in some re-arrangement of the material brought together in this chapter. But this does not diminish the value of the interpretations given to the individual examples (cf. especially pp. 35-38).

Ch. V (and introducing the equivalent of a relative clause) contains much valuable information, from which it may be gathered that there are two main types of relative coordination. These types may be illustrated by the following examples: 1) *Þar had a werre ben in þat land, And it had lasted sumdel lang*, CM (Göttingen MS.) 2492 (p. 97, l. 4), corresponding to a relative clause with the relative pronoun expressed: *þare had a were ben in þat land, þat had lasted sumdel lang* (Cotton MS.); 2) *Dere was a wycche and made a bagge*, Handlyng 501 (p. 99), corresponding to an ἀπό ποιοῦ construction: *It was a wycche made a bagge* (another reading). These types might have formed the basis for the main classification instead of the principle adopted by the author, who has arranged the material

according to whether the antecedent is a substantive or a sentence. In short, these types of coordination correspond so closely to subordinate constructions as to make the translation test a reliable basis for the grouping of the examples. This remark also applies to coordinate expressions in which the first member corresponds to a temporal clause (p. 88), e.g. *Daries herde þat tidýng And comþ and tellþ Menolay þeo kyný. Troye 1013* (p. 89). Other readings: *When (Whan)* etc. The two isolated examples in which the second member corresponds to a temporal clause are of a different kind (p. 93 ff.). The author's criticism of G. Dubislav's attempt in *Anglia*, 40, pp. 267, 268, to show that *and* may be used as a true temporal conjunction 'when' or 'till' is all to the point (pp. 89-93).

The second part of the book, which is a descriptive account of all sorts of asymmetrical combinations, conveys, within strict limits of space and simplicity, the maximum of facts, arranged with much care and discretion. The nearest approach to psychological interpretation is the comment on the examples of coordination of a relative clause with a formally independent sentence (p. 201 ff.), e.g. *þat bitocneð þe crisme cloð þe þe prest biwindeð þat child mide and þus seið* (: That is denoted by the chrism cloth with which the priest envelops the child, and thus saith.) *OEII* 95: 15. The author says: "When the speaker or writer has finished the relative clause, i.e. the first member, he eliminates the nominal function, which is no longer wanted, of the relative and retains the notional element that has subordinating function ... That the speaker (writer) feels this expression to be parallel to the relative clause is indicated by the suppression of the subject". The last statement seems to require some qualification. The *and*-clause is in thought not parallel but subordinate to the preceding relative clause. This logical subordination would best be brought out by substituting the *ing*-form (*saying*) for *and* + the finite verb-form (*seið*). For the rest, examples of this type may conveniently be considered against the background of the interesting cases of coordination of a substantive or an accusative and infinitive (or complement) with a formally independent expression, pp. 140 ff., 153 ff., 159 ff.

This review must leave out important elements in Dr. Ohlander's investigation of coordinate expressions. It should suffice, however, to give a general account of the purport of his book. As a collection of facts which it is otherwise hard to come by and as a highly informative commentary on these facts the book will be a useful companion for readers of ME literature, the more so as the interpretations of the individual cases are reliable with very few exceptions (e.g. *Ancr. R.* 326:3, p. 197). It will be of value also to students working on fields of philology other than English. They will find in it specimens of a primitive mode of expression which may be supposed to have preceded the more advanced, hypotactic stage. Regarded from this point of view, the material may form the basis for another essay. Personally I find this side of the subject most inspiring which I plead as an excuse for adding to this already lengthy review an example selected so as to illustrate this aspect.

A treou þat wule uallen, me underset hit mid on oðer treou, ant hit stont feste. *Ancr. R.* 254:5 (p. 66 ff.). The author's comment on this passage is elucidatory: "the whole sentence may be approximately paraphrased by a hypothetical period: If a tree that is about to fall is under-propped by another tree, it stands fast". This is an apt observation. The construction.

employed here, perhaps, for stylistic reasons, gives us an idea of the primitive way of expressing a hypothetical period (in the indicative) before it had reached the hypotactic stage. For the use of parataxis instead of hypothetical subordination, cf. Lat *negat quis, nego; ait, aio*. Ter. Eun. 251 (see Kühner-Stegmann, Gramm. d. lat. Spr., II, p. 164. Stolz-Schmalz, Lat. Gramm. 1928, p. 770) and Greek *θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ποιεῖν* (: Thou wilt have no fear of the power; do that which is good) NT. Rom. 13:3. Editors generally write the first clause of such expressions as a question, which, however, is uncalled for (cf. Blass-Debrunner, Gramm. des neutestamentl. Griech. §§ 471, 3; 494; Kühner-Gerth, Gramm. d. griech. Spr. II, p. 234 Anm.).

In considering the material from this point of view we become aware of another problem of considerable importance: To what extent is coordination in Middle English an actual reflection of a 'primitive' state of mind, and to what extent is it the outcome of an effort to produce stylistic effects? Dr. Ohlander's book provides a valuable background for the investigation of this and similar problems.

Göteborg:

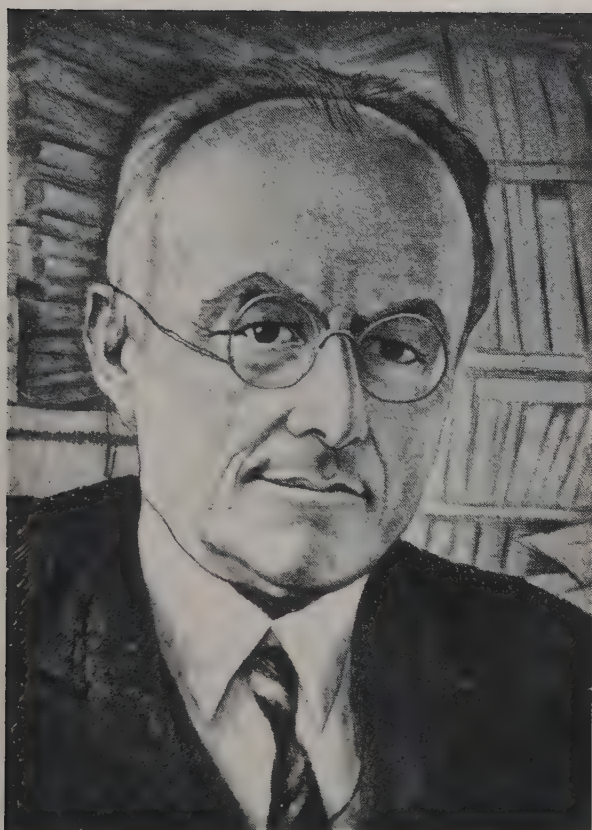
FRANK BEHRE.

Brief Mention

The Development of Welsh Poetry. By H. I. BELL, Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. xi + 192 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1936. Price 7s. 6d.

This sympathetic and scholarly study of what is perhaps the proudest boast of Wales may be cordially recommended to all students of British culture, for whom it may open up new vistas of unexpected freshness and delight. The book is one of the few that furnish a clear cut survey of the whole field of Welsh poetry, from the Cynfeirdd to the present day, and its value is enhanced by a good many extracts, followed by nearly always felicitous translations, though nothing is perhaps more difficult than to render the subtle melody of a Welsh poem. The book is a symptom of the gathering interest in things Brythonic. — G. J. V.

[Bibliography in the next issue]



Bernhard Fehr

In Memoriam

In Bernhard Fehr English scholarship on the Continent has lost one of its foremost representatives. He was born at Basel on February 18th, 1876, and completed his academic studies there under the direction of Gustav Binz in 1900 with a dissertation on the formal elements in the old English ballads. Before accepting the post of professor of English in the University of Commerce at St. Gall he spent some time in France and Italy, the languages of which countries he spoke with considerable fluency, and about five years in England. He spoke English both in private and in public with almost the same ease as his native German. The eleven years he spent at St. Gall were a transitional period of completion and preparation. He followed out the impetus given him at Basel, publishing in 1909 the study of old English commercial language which made him Privatdozent at Zurich and in 1914 an edition of Aelfric's homilies. And, adapting himself to the spirit of his environment, he began the study of modern English literature with its economic, social and intellectual backgrounds that made him pre-eminent in this field in Central Europe. In 1912 appeared a small book of "excursions" into modern English literature, followed in 1918 by a painstaking historical and analytical study of Oscar Wilde's poems. By this time Fehr had spent three years at Dresden, which he left for Strassburg, only to be promptly evicted at the end of the war. After a few years of waiting, again spent at St. Gall, Fehr was called to Zurich in 1922, where he spent the last sixteen years, the happiest and the most fruitful of his life. Work on his great History of English Literature in the 19th Century had already begun during the second St. Gall period, the instalments began appearing in 1923 and the final sheets were dated September, 1929. The classicism of the 17th and 18th centuries was added immediately after, while a close study of present-day literature became a regular feature of Fehr's academic teaching at Zurich. The results were published from time to time in short monographs and Fehr was planning the latest one of these when he died. For a foreigner dealing with modern literature and its highly refined techniques, problems of language and style were bound very soon to arise. For the last twenty years Fehr's attention was attracted in increasing measure to these problems. He published from time to time short essays on various stylistic questions, brought out in 1927 an anthology of English prose from 1880 to the present day intended for the study of style, and his death has cut off what promised to be one of the fundamental works on the subject in English.

Fehr's work is characterized by a wide vision combined with a sharp grasp of details. He had the rare faculty of surveying the broad expanse of an epoch as the carrying medium of its individual literary expression. He was the first to apply the "cultural" method that regards literature as only one of the manifestations of the spirit of an age to English literature

on a large scale. The broad canvas of 19th Century Literature that he presents may offer too little that is new to the educated English reader; the somewhat unwieldy book, at best hard to get at in Walzel's Handbuch, was never translated into English. But for the younger generation of German-speaking scholars its scope and method and perspectives were a revelation and Fehr became their recognized leader in exploring the new field, till then hardly touched upon by serious Continental research. Fehr brought to his task an exceptional reading capacity and his quick, nervous temperament carried him forward with incessant energy. His thorough grounding in the meticulous linguistic method of his early training was a valuable counter-weight to an inherent impressionism that was becoming more and more impatient of restraint. His astounding mental vitality took in the whole breadth of national life in the present as well as the past. One of his university courses this term was to be on the modern novel in its relation to present-day problems in England. As an academic teacher Fehr poured his whole personality into his work with the same self-abandonment that characterizes his publications. His method was suggestive, arousing the enthusiasm of the young scholar and opening his eyes to the problems of the present and the future, rather than to an historical analysis of the past. His pupils were his friends in a real sense of the word. On his 60th birthday two years ago they gathered around their master in a spontaneous homage rare in Continental universities. What Fehr created at Zurich was not an academic school but a scholarly family which he fostered with the strength of his mind and the warmth of his heart.

English Studies owes him a debt which is only limited by the abruptness of his passing away. He joined our editorial board two and a half years ago and remained not only a valuable contributor but an invaluable friend and adviser down to the last moment. The symptoms of the cerebral hemorrhage that caused his death had already appeared when Fehr penned his last message to the editor.

The end came early on Monday morning, May 30th.

H. L.

The Middle English \bar{a}/\bar{o} -boundary

In an article published in *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* V (1913) I dealt briefly with the development of OE \bar{a} in the early dialects of Lancashire, and showed that place-names seem to point to a boundary between Northern \bar{a} and Midland \bar{o} which on the whole followed the river Ribble. In *Place-names of Lancashire* (1922) I pointed out, however, that the detached portion of Blackburn Hundred north of the Ribble seems to have agreed with its main part, which is situated south of the river. The boundary thus follows the Ribble from its mouth to a little beyond Ribchester, then turns north to the long crescent-shaped ridge called Longridge Fell, along which it runs east to the Hodder, then down the latter to the Ribble. I find that in the article "Dialect Characteristics" by S. Moore, S. B. Meech, and H. Whitehall in *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature* (University of Michigan Publications, XIII) the boundary is made to begin at the mouth of the river Lune and follow that river upstream to a point near Claughton, then to turn SE. and skirt the western edge of the Pennine outliers in north Lancashire, eventually entering the Ribble Valley near Mitton, on the Lancashire-Yorkshire border (p. 33). This boundary may be correct for later ME times, and the authors of the said article admit that the boundary may have shifted in the course of the ME period. In the dialects of our own time the boundary runs farther north than in early ME times, but not so far north as the line given by Moore, Meech, and Whitehall. It starts at Cockerham south of Lancaster, runs ESE. to the Lancashire border and follows this to a point 9 miles NE. of Burnley (cf. Luick, *Historische Grammatik*, § 369, note 1).

It has long been my intention to try and follow up the \bar{a}/\bar{o} -boundary east of Lancashire as indicated by place-names, and some years ago I collected the bulk of the material given below. A special reason for completing the investigation and publishing its results was given by the article *Dialect Characteristics* quoted, where the boundary is given as follows: From Mitton follow the Ribble NE. into the Pennines, and continue E. through the Aire Gap so as to enter the Wharfe Valley near Bolton Abbey. From this point turn down the N. bank of the Wharfe to the Ouse, and follow the E. bank of the Ouse and the N. bank of the Humber to the North Sea at Spurn Point. The boundary indicated by place-names runs somewhat to the south of this.

The forms quoted below are taken from sources of various descriptions. It is obvious that forms found in copies are to be used with caution, as the copyist may have introduced later forms or forms belonging to a different dialect type; thus cartularies, which mostly contain copies of original charters, are less to be relied on than the originals. But even originals cannot always be implicitly trusted; the scribe may not have been a native of the district to which the charter refers. Documents that may be supposed to have been written in the Chancery or the central courts are less reliable than those emanating from local courts. Refashioning of place-names was especially liable to take place, if they contained elements that were etymologically transparent, while names that did not would be likely to retain their correct dialectal forms.

We should thus give preference to original documents, especially such as may be supposed to have been drawn up by local scribes. Among the most important sources for Yorkshire are the *Wakefield Court Rolls*, the *Subsidy Rolls*, and the documents in the *Early Yorkshire Deeds* and *Pudsey Deeds*. These and similar sources do not afford sufficient material, and it must be supplemented by the help of other sources, as *Charter Rolls*, *Episcopal Registers* and others. On the whole it may be said, however, that the testimony of the various sources agrees remarkably well.

It is true the evidence sometimes appears to be conflicting. But here we must remember, among other things, that there was a tendency for o-forms to be introduced instead of a-forms owing to the influence of Standard English. Many names now have o, which in medieval documents generally preserve a. For examples see *infra* under the North and the East Ridings. Mostly these names contain words in living use and easily recognizable, as *wold* in Coxwold, Easingwold, where *ā* usually remains unrounded in early forms. The influence of Standard English begins to make itself felt in the later ME period.

Frequently a-forms continue in use by the side of o-forms far down into the Middle English period. Many of these are traditional spellings which lived on long after the change $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ had taken place. These spellings are not due simply to conservatism, but partly to practical considerations. In early Assize Rolls we often find a claim to property disputed simply on the ground that the name of the place was not given in its correct form, its right spelling. In early records a variation between a and o may be due to the fact that the change $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$ had not been fully carried through, there being a difference between the pronunciation of the older and the younger members of the same generation, or the sound spoken being intermediate between \bar{a} and \bar{o} . About the middle of the thirteenth century it is probable that the change to \bar{o} had been carried through in the districts where it took place.

Forms with a linger on particularly long in the second element of compound names, as names in OE *-stān*, as in Blaxton, Whiston WR. No doubt \bar{a} was often shortened in such names, and the later *ston* is due to influence from the simplex *stone*. It is further to be noticed that the combination *āw* seems to have developed differently from \bar{a} in other positions in some dialects. A change *ow* $>$ *aw* is found in Lancashire and adjoining parts of Yorkshire; Trawden Lancs. contains OE *trog* 'trough' (cf. PNLa, p. 21). Thus *āw* may have first become *ōw* and later again *aw*. Or else *āw* in some dialects may have remained *aw*. However that may be, OE *hlāw* 'mound, hill' frequently appears as *law* even in districts where \bar{a} is otherwise rounded to \bar{o} .

Early shortening of \bar{a} often took place before rounding set in. This is most common in the first member of compounds, as in Stanley, Stanton, Langley and the like, which are found all over England. Names of that kind are generally left unnoticed in the present paper. But the rules for shortening are to a great extent obscure. Association with the simplex often caused shortening not to take place, while in other names of similar type the vowel was shortened. Thus, to take a few typical instances, OE *Stān-dūn* usually became Standon, but Stondon in Beds and Ess. OE *Stān-lēah* generally gives Stanley, but we find Stoneleigh Warws., Stonely Hunts. The vowel is shortened in Stanney Ches. (OE

Stān-ēg), Stanion Northants (OE *Stān-ærn*), Stanhoe Norf. (OE *Stān-hōh*), but it is preserved in Stonor Oxf. (OE *Stān-ōra*), Stoneham Hants.

Lancashire

A few supplementary remarks on the treatment of *ā* in Lancashire place-names are called for. When I wrote my article in GRM, the full material was not available to me, and in PNLa considerations of space forbade a full treatment. Luick, HGr, § 369, note 1, draws the ME boundary between *ā* and *ō* in accordance with that indicated by modern dialects. He mentions the results arrived at by me, but assumes that the Ribble boundary could only have been temporary. In corroboration he refers to the material found in Professor Brandl's *Geographie der altenglischen Dialekte*, which in his opinion tells against my results.

But of the forms quoted by Professor Brandl (after Wyld), Broadhead, Broadley, Coldcoats, Oakenshaw, Ogden, Oldham all denote places south of the Ribble. *Okenheved* (1305), which Wyld refers to an Oakenhead in North Lancashire (by Carnforth), is Oakenhead south of the Ribble. Oakenhead near Carnforth I have not found in early sources; it may be a late name.

I will here be content chiefly to deal with the examples for the districts adjoining the Ribble, i.e. Amounderness hd. north of the Ribble, Leyland and Blackburn hundreds south of it (except for a small detached part).

Amounderness hd.

Preston par.: Scales by Ribbleton: *Ribelton Scales* 1252 Ch.¹ On the N. bank of the Ribble.

Kirkham par.: Loudscales: *Ludescales* 1222 Ass, *Lowd Scales* 1585 PNLa. Just N. of Longridge Fell. — Scales: *Skalys* 1501 Cockers (on the Ribble). — Wrea: *Wra* 1201 P, *Wraa* 1327 Subs, 1380 FF. — Corner Row: *Corneraw* 1501 Cockers, *Corneyrow* 1553 FF (here *rōw* has replaced *raw* owing to Standard influence).

Bispham par.: Layton: *Latun* 1086 DB, *Laton* 1340 FF etc. First element perhaps OE *lād* 'water-course'.

Garstang par.: Landskill: *Longstal* 1341 NI, *Lanscaile* 1589, *Langscayles* 1594 PNLa. Second element ME *scāle* 'hut' (ON *skáli*).

Isolated forms with *o* are found in Cockersand Cartulary, as *Fletetcherotelee* '-oatley' (Whittingham). The cartulary was compiled in 1267-8 by Brother Robert de Lachford. As his name implies, he probably came from Latchford in Cheshire. Doubtless the very rare *o*-forms are due to him.

The detached parts of Blackburn hd. N. of the Ribble.

Mitton par.: Davyscoles: *Danisciales*, *-scole* 1246 Ass, *David Scoles* 1305 Lacy. — Stonyhurst: *Stanyhurst* 1358 FF, *Stonyhirst* 1577 Harrison.

¹ ME *scāle* 'a hut, shed, temporary shelter', from ON *skáli* the same. This word is common in place-names in Lancs. and Yks. Another common element is ME *wrā* from OS *vrā* (ODan, OSwed *vrā*, ON *rā*) 'corner, nook', in place-names probably 'secluded place' or the like. It is the source of *Wrea* in Lancs and is a common second element in Lancs. and Yks. place-names.

Whalley par.: Greystoneley: *Graystonlegh* 1462 PNLa.

Blackburn hd. (main part).

Blackburn par.: Feniscowles: *Feinycholes* 1276 Ass, *Fenniscoles* 1307-9 PNLa. — Shorrock: *Shorrok* 13 Whalley. Second element probably OE *āc* 'oak'. — Low Chapel: *Lawe* 1283 Whalley, *Law* 1577 Saxton. Cf. what has been said on *āw* *supra*.

Whalley par.: Crow Hill: *Crowehull* n.d. Whalley. — Wolfstones: *le Woluestones* n.d. Whalley. — Coldcoats: *Kaldecotes* 1243 Lalnq. 1246 Ass, *Coldecotes*, 1296 Lacy, 1332 Subs. — Oakenhead: *Okenheved* 1305 Lacy. — Royle: *Rohille* 1296 Lacy. First element OE *rā* 'roedeer'. — Simonstone: *Simundestan* 1296 Misc, *Simundeston* 1246 Ass, *Symundeston* 1278 Ass. See also Grindlestonehurst, Lomeshay, Ringstonhalgh, Scholefield in PNLa.

Leyland hd. Brinscall: *Brendescoles* c 1200, 13 Whalley. 'Burnt huts'. — Harrock: *Harakiskar* c 1260, *Harrok-hyll* 1501 Cockers. Second element OE *āc* 'oak'. — Roscoe Low (hill): *Rascahae* a 1190 Cockers, *Rascok* 1246 Ass. ON *rā-skógr* 'roedeer wood'.

For the two southernmost hundreds of Lancashire the material in my article in GRM is rather scanty. I will here refer to the following names in PNLa, all of which show the change *ā* > *ō*:

West Derby hd.: Garston, Laffog, Occleshaw, Roby, Scholes (3), Stonebridgley.

Salford hd.: Barlow, Broadhalgh, Horwich, Oakenbottom, Oakenrod, Ogden, Oldham, Rockcliffe, Scholefield, Tetlow.

Yorkshire

The North Riding

This is definitely an *ā*-area, and only a few examples need be given. An arrangement according to the local distribution is unnecessary.

Acomb (Malton, Ryedale): *Akum* 1222 FF. OE *ācum* '(at) the oaks'.

Aislaby (Middleton): *Aslachesbi* 1086 DB, *Aselakeby* 1244 Fees, *Aslakby* 1268 FF. First element OScaud *Āslākr* pers. n.

Aislaby (near Whitby): *Asulvesby* 1086 DB, *Asolvebi* 1222-27 Whitby, *Ascilbi* 1279 Ipm, *Aselby* 1339 Pat. First element OScaud *Āsulfr* pers. n.

Ayresome (Middlesbrough): *Arushum* 1160-70, *Arusum* c 1180 YCh 1851, 659, *Arshom* 1373 FF. OScaud *ār-hūsum* 'houses on the river'.

Ayton, Great & Little (in Langbargh West Wap.): *Atun* 1086 DB, *Etona* c 1160 Guisb, 1161-4 YCh 881, *Aton* 1279 Ipm. East Ayton (Seamer, Pickering Wap.): *Atun* 1086 DB, *Aton* 1231 FF. West Ayton (Hutton Buscel, Pickering Wap.): *Atun* 1086 DB, *Aton* 1234 FF. OScaud *ā* 'river' and *tūn*, but probably *Atūn* is a Scandinavianized form of OE *Eatūn*, as some examples indicate.

Crambe (near New Malton): *Crambom* 1086 DB, 1336 Ch, *Crambum* 1208 FF. The dat. plur. of an OE **cramb* 'bend'. OE *a* would become lengthened before *m̥*.

Raskelf (Easingwold): *Raschel* 1086 DB, *Raskelf* 1242 Fees, *Raschelf* 1318 BM, *Raskell* 1409 YInq. The first element is OScaud *rā* 'roe-deer' or *rā* 'boundary-mark'.

Raydale (Aysgarth): *Radale* 1307 Ch. First element OScand *rā* 'roe-deer'.

There are several names of minor places, containing OScand *blār* 'dark, blue', as *Blawath Beck* in Pickering (*Blawath* 1334 For), *Blaten Carr* in Stokesley (*Blatun* 1086 DB), *Blea Wyke* in Staintondale (*Blawic* 1109-14 YCh 865), and ME *scāle*, ON *skáli* 'hut', as *Gammersgill* in Coverham (*Gamelscale* 1388 Ipm), *Laskill* in Helmsley (*Lauescales* c 1070 Riev, 1219 Ass, *Laueschales* 1201 FF). — *Stamfrey* in East Harlsey (campus de *Standfra* 1508 Guisb) clearly contains ME *stand* 'to stand' and *frā*, *frō* 'from'. The name may possibly mean 'out-lying field'.

The names *Coxwold* and *Easingwold* normally have *-wald* in early records. *Coxwold* is *Cucualt* 1086 DB, *Cucawald* 1157 YCh 354, *Cukewald* 1304 BM, *Cukwald* 1406 YInq, *Cokewald* 1534 FF, *Cokwold* 1341 NI. *Easingwold* is *Eisincewald* 1086 DB, *Esingewald* 1208 FF, *Esingwaud* 1236 Cl etc., *Esyngwold* 1411 YInq. The form in *-wold* is due to influence from the Standard pronunciation. *Stonegrave* is a late form for earlier *Stainegrif* DB, *Steingreua* 1163 P etc. No forms in *Stone-* are recorded in PNNR. For the etymology see my *Place-name Dictionary*.

The East Riding

This is likewise an *ā*-area. The old *ā*-sound is preserved also in the parts adjoining the West Riding.

Aike (N. of Beverley): *Ach* 1086 DB, *Ake* 1203 FF, 1292 Ch, 1342 FF, *Hac* 1238 Ch, *Ak'* 1297 Subs. OE *āc* 'oak'.

Aleamar, now *High & Low Marr* (Wheldrake, near the Humber): *Alemare* 1218, 1252 FF, *Aleamar* 1219 FF. Probably originally OE *ælmere* 'eel lake', with substitution of OScand *all* for OE *æl*.

Auburn (Carnaby): *Eleburne* 1086 DB, *Alburnia* c 1135 YCh 1152, *Aleburne* 13 Misc, *Olburn* 1413 Bodl. First element probably as in preceding name. The 1413 form shows occasional rounding.

Cave (W. of Hull): *Cava*, *Cave* 1086 DB, *Cave* 1265 Ipm etc. A derivative of OE *cāf* 'quick, brisk', originally the name of the stream at the place. *Cova* 1212 Cur shows occasional rounding.

Caville (in Eastrington, near Howden, close to the border of the West Riding): *Cafeld* 959 YCh 4, *Cheuede* 1086 DB, *Cavill* 1432 YD, *Cayville* 1375 FF. First element ME *cā*, *cō* 'jackdaw'.

Caythorpe (Rudston): *Caretorp* 1086 DB, *Carthorp* 1297 Subs. First element OScand *Kāri* pers. n.

Swaythorpe (in Kilham, near Rudston): *Suauetorp* 1086 DB, *Suauetorp* 1233 FF, *Suauetorp'* 1219 Ass, *Swatorp* 1242 Fees. First element OScand *Svāfi* pers. n.

Wauldby (near Hull): *Walbi* 1086 DB, *Waldeby* 1337 Ch. The first element is OE *wald* 'wold'.

From early sources may be adduced *le Wra* 1339 YD i (in Escrick), 1366 FF (in York). *Leonard Scales Lane* in Wheldrake is *Leuenath Scales* ('*Lēofnōþ's* scales') 1261 PNER. Wheldrake *Wrays* and *Wreggets* ib. appear as *Wra* 1231, *le Wra* 1287, *Wragate* 13 PNER.

Some names show modern forms with *o*, which are late and due to Standard influence.

Wold Newton: (N. in) *Waldo* 1154-60 YCh 880, (N. super) *Waldam* 1214 FF etc. The earliest example of the o-form in PNER dates from 1617.

Hawold (Huggate): *Holde* 1086 DB, *Howald* 1157 YCh 354, 1308 Ch.

There are some isolated early spellings with o, which are doubtless due to influence from the Standard language or to scribes to whom the o-form was familiar. Thus *le Loghlandes* c 1300 Percy 128 (in Nafferton) appears in the correct form *Laghelandes* c 1300 ib. 96, 101. The name means 'low lands'. An isolated *Scholes* occurs as a pers. name 1260 Ass under Beverley. *Le Wro* c 1280 Selby i, 358, was in Barlby, which is close to Selby in the West Riding.

The West Riding

Here examples must be arranged by districts. The division has not been made by wapentakes because it is difficult to give their boundaries briefly. I have on the whole made a division into districts bounded by the chief rivers. But it may be noted that the river Aire divides the wapentakes of Skyrack and Barkston Ash north of the river from Osgoldcross and Morley south of it. In its upper reaches the Aire does not form a wapentake boundary; Staincliff Wap. reaches some way south of the river.

The northern part is an *ā*-area.

The district between the rivers Nidd and Ure-Ouse, that of Ripon and Knaresborough, does not offer very good examples, but the following may be adduced.

Aismunderby (near Ripon): *Asmundrebi* 1086 DB, *Asmunderby* 1199 Fount, *Asmundby* 1242 Fees. First element OS cand *Āsmundr* pers. n. Aldfield (SW. of Ripon): *Aldefeld* 1086 DB, 1298 Ipm, 1372 FF. First element OE *ald* 'old'.

Copgrove (SW. of Boroughbridge): *Copegrave* 1086 DB, *Coppegrave* 1220 FF, *Copgraue* 1291 Tax. Second element OE *grāf* 'grove'. The modern form *-grove* seems to be late.

From early sources we may add *ye Wra* 1297 Subs (in Bishop Monkton) and *Ratanraw* 'Rotten Row' 1621 Goodall (in Knaresborough).

The Harrogate and Wetherby district between the Nidd and the Wharfe. An *ā*-area.

Acomb (W. of York, 2 m. from the Ouse): *Acum* 1086 DB, 1219 Ass, 1281 Ch, *Akum* 1227 FF, *Acom* 1341 NI. Cf. *Acomb* NR.

Haverah (at Harrogate): *Heywra* 1227 Cl, 1280 Ch, 1329 Pat, *Haywra* 1336 BM, 1395 Pat, *Havera* 1638 BM. Lindkvist, *MEPlace-names*, p. 200, gives two isolated instances with *wro*: *Heywro* 1283 Pat, *Haywrocastell* 1393 Pat. Second element OS cand *vrā*.

Kirkby Overblow (not far from the Wharfe): *Kirkeby Oreblower* 1211 Cur, *K. Orbelawer* 1242 Ep, *K. Orblawere* 1281 Ch, *K. Orblawers* 1363 BM. The surname is an OE *ōrblāwere* 'smelter'. The early form with o is evidently due to the Chancery scribe.

Longscales (near Darley, on the Nidd): *Langescales* 1230 Ep.

Scales (near Askwith NW. of Otley): *Skales* 1219 Ass, *Scales* 1544 FF.

Scalwray (Middleton, near Ilkley): *Scalewra* c 1208, c 1260, *Scallewra* 1304, *Over-*, *Nedirscalewray* 1457 YD v. The form *Scalewra* is very common. According to the Glossary in YD v, also *Scale-*, *Scolewro* occur, but they have not been found in the text. They must be rare exceptions.

Wydra (in Fewston): *Widerawe* 1571 Goodall. Second element OE *rāw* 'row'.

From early sources may be added *Swynegarhwra* 1283 Selby (in Acaster).

Some other occasional forms in *o* are found in early records. Thus *ye Wro* occurs as a personal name 1341 NI (in Askham Bryan, SW. of York). Grayston Plain (near Darley) is apparently referred to as *Grastanwro* 1230 Ep. Here the final element has *o*, while the first and second have *a*. Cold Cotes (near Darley) has not been met with in early sources. Cf. Cold Cotes in Ingleton (*infra*).

The north-western part of the West Riding, the district west of the Wharfe and on the upper Ribble and Aire, north of the Burnley district in Lancashire, and east of the Amounderness and Lonsdale districts of Lancashire, is an *ā*-area.

In the northern part are:

Cold Coniston (NW. of Skipton): *Calde Cuningeston* 1202 FF, *Caldecuniston* 1219 Ass, *Calde Conistona* 1329 BM. The form *Cold* is late.

Cold Cotes (Ingleton): *Caldecotes* 1297 Subs, 1305, 1399 YInq, *Caldcotes* 1406 YInq. Also in this name *Cold* is late.

Cracoe (N. of Skipton): *Cracho* 1202 P, *Crachou* 1257 Ch, *Crakhowe* 1333 Ch, *Crakhow* 1410 YD. First element ME *crāke*, from OScaud *krāka*. Oughtershaw (in Langstrothdale): *Uhtredescal*, *Hucstredescalc* 1241 Percy. Second element ME *scāle*, ON *skāli* 'hut'.

Souther Scales (N. of Ingleborough): *Souterscales* 1220 ff. FC. First element ON *sūtari* 'shoemaker'.

In the southern part are:

Agden (NW. of Gisburn): *Akeden* 1246 FF, *Akedene* 1269 Sallay. The first element is OE *āc* 'oak', but early shortening of *ā* is possible in this name.

Gaisgill or Gazegill (Rimington, close to the Lancashire border): *Gasegile* 1182-5 YCh 199, 1222-33 Sallay, *Gasgile* 13 Sallay. ON *gāsa-gil* 'wild goose valley'.

Raygill (Bolton by Bowland): *Ragile* 1206 Sallay, *Ragill Mosse* 1572 Pudsay. ON *rā-gil* 'roedeer valley'.

Ray Head (NW. of Gisburn): *Raheved* post 1203, 1269 Sallay, 1246 FF, 1259 Ipm, 1269 FF, *Rahed*, *Querraheued* 1576 BM. OE *rā-hēafod* 'roedeer hill'.

The Pudsay deeds contain several names of minor places, which cannot be identified with the material at my disposal; some contain OE words with *ā*, as *le Akenheued* 1313, *the Hakynhed* 15 (first el. OE *ācen* 'of oaks'), *Braderode* c 1260, *Brade Rode* 1351 'broad clearing' (both in Bolton by Bowland), *Bradeheudes* 1276 (Rimington).

Studfold (Horton in Ribblesdale): *Stodfald* 1219 Ass. The form *-fold* is probably due to a late change.

The area between the rivers Aire and Wharfe west of Guiseley and Otley, the Ilkley-Bingley district, has very few examples. Those there are would seem to indicate that *ā* was preserved.

Faweather (NE. of Bingley): *Faghadre* 1100-35 Mon, *Favedre* 1150-60 Riev, *Fagheder* c 1230 YD, 1235 FF, *Fahedder* 1276 RH, *Faweder* 1413 YInq. The first element is OE *fāg* 'multi-coloured'. The second may

be the word *heather*, as suggested by Dr. Smith, PND lix, or OE *eodor* 'fence'.

Crawshaw Moss (SW. of Ilkley). No early forms have been found.

The district between the Wharfe and the Aire east of Guiseley and Otley. The western part on the whole corresponds to Skyrack wapentake. Here examples are few. Three names show the change $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$.

Coldcotes (E. of Leeds): *Caldecotes* 1086 DB, 1276 RH, *Caldecote* 1219 Ass, *Caldcots* 1535 VE. The modern o appears to be due to a late change. Cf. *Cold Cotes supra*. Coldcotes is not far from the Aire.

Scholes (NE. of Leeds): *Scales* 1254 FF, 1258 Ipm, 1329 Pat, *Scoles* 14, 1638 BM, 1402 AD. The place is nearer the Aire than the Wharfe.

Hesselrow (Parlington; somewhat nearer the Aire than the Wharfe): *Heselrawa* c 1200 Pont, *Hesilrow* 1352 YD i. The document of c 1200 Pont also mentions *Aschilrawa*, *Caldewelle*, *Crauhil*, *Haldefeld* in Parlington, that in YD i also *Crawhille*, *Crawhilldale*, *Caldewellfeld*, which preserve the \bar{a} .

Skyrack, the name of the wapentake: *Siraches* 1086 DB, *Scirac* 1166 P, *Schirac* a 1210 Pont, *Scirach'* 1219 Ass, *Shirak* 1322 Pat, *Skireocke* 1279 YInq, *Schireik* 1183 P, *Scyrai'* 1219 Ass. See also Anderson, *English Hundred-names*, p. 22. The second element of the name is OE $\bar{a}c$ 'oak'. One form shows a change of \bar{a} to \bar{o} , but mostly *a* remains or is exchanged for *ai* owing to Scandinavian influence. The *a* may be due to shortening, in later forms also to earlier *ai*.

A doubtful case is Harewood (on the Wharfe): *Harawudu* 10 Rushworth MS, *Hareuode* 1086 DB etc. No forms with o have been noticed. The first element may be OE *hār* 'hoar, gray'; if so, the name shows that OE \bar{a} was preserved in the Harewood district. But *Hare-* may be OE *hara* 'hare'; see also EPD.

The eastern part embraces parts of the old Elmet district and corresponds to Barkston Ash wapentake.

Cawood (on the Ouse): *Cawuda* c 972 BCS 1278, c 1030 YCh 7, *Cawde* 1190 P, *Kawude* 1219 Fees, *Cawode* 1283 Ch, 1290 Sallay. First element ME *cā*, *cō* 'jackdaw'.

Smaus (near Tadcaster, on the Wharfe): *Smausum* 1189-99, *Smaus* 1265 Sallay, *Smahus* 1225 Percy, 1234 FF, *Smawes* 1260 Ipm, 1369 FF, *Smauys* 1331 YD. An OS cand *smā-hūs* 'small houses'.

Tadcaster (on the Wharfe): *Tāda* 1066 ASC (C), *Tatecastre* 1086 DB, 1227 FF, etc. The probability is that the name represents an OE *Tātan ceaster* (see EPD). It is true \bar{a} might have been shortened early, but the analogy of Todwick (*infra*) leads us to expect that it would have remained long till after the time when \bar{a} became \bar{o} .

Wray (in Clifford, near the Wharfe): *Wra* 12 Kirkstall 141 f., *Wrolandes* 1225, *Le Wro* 1246 FF. According to a note in Kirkstall Cart., p. 140, the place was called *Wraye Lees* in the time of Henry VIII. The form *Wro* of 1225, 1246 is clearly not trustworthy.

Two other early o-spellings have been noticed, viz. *Eskewro* 1276 RH (Wistow near Selby) and *le Louerdwod* 1333 Selby ii, 308 (Gateforth near the Aire).

The material indicates that \bar{a} was preserved in the district along the southern bank of the Wharfe. The example last quoted may point to \bar{o} along the northern bank of the Aire.

The Keighley district between the Aire and the Lancashire border is an \bar{o} -area. It belonged to Staincliff Wap., whose main part is an \bar{a} -area.

Oakworth (SW. of Keighley): *Acurde* 1086 DB, *Akewrthe* 1254 Ipm, *Akeworth* 1362 FF, *Ocwurde* 1246 YInq, *Ouchewrthe* 1248, *Okeworth* 1368 FF. First element OE *āc* 'oak'.

Oldfield (near Oakworth): *Haldefelde* 1155-62 YCh 1452, *Haldefeld* 1226 Kirkstall. The early spellings possibly indicate that the first element is OE *heald*, *hald* 'sloping', rather than *ald* 'old'.

Scholes (Keighley): *Scoles* 1362, 1567 FF, *Scholl* 1379 PT.

The large district between the Aire and the Calder, that of Bradford, Halifax, Wakefield, is an \bar{o} -area. Forms with *a* are common in early sources, but occur only occasionally later. Many of the names denote minor places.

Oulton (SE. of Leeds, on the Aire): *Aleton* 1180 P, *Altun* 1175-90 YCh 1873, *Olton* 1251 Ch, *Oldton* 1297 Wakef. First element apparently OSand *Āli* pers. n.

Tong (Bradford): *Tuinc* 1086 DB, *Tange* 1176 P, *Thuang* 1194 Cur, *Tonga* 1195 YCh 1767, *Tonge* 1242 Fees, 1316 FA. OE **twang* 'fork of a river'; cf. PNLa, p. 18. But *o* may be due to the West Midland change *a* > *o* before a nasal.

Some names contain OE *hlāw* 'hill'. Chellow (near Bradford): *Celeslau* 1086 DB, *Chelleslawe* 1251 Ch, 1293 QW, *Chelleslow* Selby, *Chellow* 1379 PT. — East and West Ardsley (NW. of Wakefield): *Erdeslawe* 1086 DB, 1208, 1219, 1234 FF, 1362 BM, *Erdeslowe* 1219 FF, 1323 YD, 1359 BM. — Tingley (near Ardsley): *Thyngeiawe* 1296 Wakef, *Tynglawe* 1581 FF, *Tyngelowe* 1284 Wakef, *Thinglowe* 1308 ib., 1323 YD.

The following names of minor places may also be added.

Brianscholes (near Halifax): *Brynscoles* 1337 Wakef.

Oakenshaw (Cleckheaton): *Akanescale* 1254 Ipm, *Okenschagh* 1402 FA. 'Oak copse'.

Oakwell (Birstall): *Okewell* 1333 Goodall, c 1370 YD. 'Oak spring'.

Ogden (Ovenden near Halifax): *Okedene* 1309 Wakef. 'Oak valley'. Cf. *Agden*.

Scholes (Cleckheaton): *Scales* 1229 Ep, *Scoles* 1413 BM.

Scholecroft (Morley): *Scalecroft* 1252 Ep, *Scholecroft* 1266 YInq. First element ON *skáli*.

Wrose (Shipley): *Wrose* 1379 PT, 1547 FF, *Wrayse* 1426 Calv. OE *wrāse* 'knot, lump'. The same element is found in *le Gildanwros* 1346 Calv (in Pudsey).

Holdsworth (near Halifax) has *a* in nearly all early forms found: *Haldewrth* 1275, 1308 Wakef, 1297 Subs, *Haldeworth* 1383 YD etc.; *Holdewrth* 1307 Wakef. Early shortening may have taken place alternatively in this name.

The district of Huddersfield, Sowerby, Elland and Holmfirth, south of the Calder, is an \bar{o} -area.

Dronsfeld (NE. of Huddersfield): *Dranefeld* c1190 YD, 1275 Wakef, *Dronesfeld* 1307 f. Wakef, *Dronfeld* 1358, *Dronsfeld* 1367 YD. First element OE *drān* 'drone'.

Honley (S. of Huddersfield): *Haneleia* 1086 DB, *Hanelay* 1242 Fees, *Honeley* 1252 Ep, 1274 Wakef, *Honelay* 1297 Subs. The first element is apparently OE *hān* 'rock, stone'. But it is possible the name contains

OE *hana* 'cock'; if so, *o* is due to the West Midland change of *a* to *o* before a nasal.

Nether- and Upperthong (NW. of Holmfirth): *Thwong* 1274, *Thwonge* 1277, *Thwong* 1315, *Hoverthong* 1286, *Uverthwong* 1297 Wakef., *Thoung* 1307 Wakef. Identical with Thong K (*Thuange* c1200) and probably from OE *þwang* 'thong' in some special transferred sense. But here also the West Midland change *a* > *o* before a nasal is possible.

Some names of minor places may be added.

Oakes (S. of Huddersfield): *Okes* 1277, 1285, 1297 Wakef. 'The oaks'.

Oldfield (Honley): *Oldefeld* 1296 Wakef., 1297 Subs.

Scholes (Holmfirth): *Scoles* 1274, 1297, (*le*) *Scholes* 1285 Wakef.

Scholes (Stainland): *Skoles* 1308 Wakef.

Woolrow (Shelley): *Wolewra* 1266 YInq, *Wlviewro* 1275 Wakef. The elements seem to be OE *wulf* 'wolf' and OScand *vrā* 'corner'.

In some names *ā* is preserved owing to special circumstances. In Fallingworth (*ffaldingworth* 1379 PT) and Stanedge in Saddleworth (*Stanegge* 1272 Goodall) early shortening of *ā* must have taken place. Crawshaw in Saddleworth (*Crawschagh* 1388 Goodall) and Emley (*Croweshagh* 1208 FF) probably have *a* owing to the change of *ōw* to *āw* mentioned *supra*, p. 148. The same is probably the explanation of Pike Law in Rishworth and Golcar.

The Pontefract and Snaith district between the Aire and the Don and Dearne.

Cold Hiendley: *Coldehindelay* 13 YD, *Koldelindele* (sic) 1252 Ep.

Featherstone: *Fredestan* 1086 DB, *Fetherstan* 1166 P, 1291 Tax, 1316 FA, *Fetherestan* 1341 NI, *Fetherston* 1269 FF, 1297 Subs, *Fethyrston* 1418 YInq.

Stotfold (near Hickleton): *Stodfald* 1086 DB, *Stodefald* 1252 Ch, *Stodfold* 1285 FA, *Stodefald* 1379 PT. OE *stōd-fālod* 'studfold'.

Oakenshaw (Crofton, near the Calder): *Akensache* 1133-53 YCh 1672, *Akenshawe* 1280 Ch, *Okenshagh* 1402 FA, *Okynschagh* 1415 YD vi. 'Oak copse'.

Oldfield (Crofton): *Aldefeld*, *Oldfelda* n. d. Pont, *Estolddefeld* 1219 FF.

Scholey (Hemsworth): *Scolay* 1230, 1379 Goodall. First element apparently ON *skáli* 'hut'.

All these are in the western or middle parts of the district, which are thus a definite *ō*-area.

The only example found in the eastern part, the Snaith district, is *Blosike* 1276 RH; *Blo-* is OScand *blār* 'dark, black'. The isolated instance is, of course, not sufficient to prove that *ā* regularly gave *ō* here.

The Thorne and Doncaster district east of the Don, south of the Aire and adjoining Lincolnshire. Examples are few. Most point to the change *ā* > *ō* having taken place.

Blaxton (close to the Notts border): *Blacstan* 1293 YInq, *Blakstane* 1359 AD, *Bakestan* 1379 PT, *Blackstone* 1566 FF. 'The black stone'. The long preservation of *a* may be due to early shortening of *ā* in a weakly stressed syllable.

In early sources are found *Cribbewro* 1222 FF (Rossington SE. of Doncaster), *le Smaldoles*, *le West Wardedoles* (*dol* from OE *dāl* 'part'), *le Stonecrosse* 1322 YD (Wadworth S. of Doncaster).

One name may point to *ā* having been preserved in the land along the Lincs. border, viz. A comb. The place is N. of Blaxton close to the Lincs. border. The name would seem to be identical with A comb *supra* (NR and WR near York), from OE *ācum* 'the oaks', but no early forms have been met with.

The Rotherham district between the Don-Rother and the Notts border. An *ō*-area.

Anston: *Anestan* 1086 DB, 1199 (1232) Ch, *Annestan* c 1180 YCh 1412, *North-*, *Suthanstan* 1297 Subs, *Anstane* 1366, *Anston* 1371 FF. Second element OE *stān*.

Whiston: *Witestan* 1086 DB, *Whytstan* 1341 NI, *Whistan* 1343 FF, *Whystan* 1355 BM, *Whiteston* 1291 Tax. 'The white stone'. For the long preservation of *ā* in this name and Anston, cf. Blaxton *supra*.

Todwick: *Tateuic* 1086 DB, *Tatewik* 1233 Ep, *Tatewyk* 1291 Tax, *Totewyk* 1300 Ch, 1350 FF, *Totwick* 1361 BM, *Thodewik* 1297 Subs, *Todewyk* 1329 FF, *Todwyk* 1391 BM. OE *Tātan wīc* 'Tāta's wīc'.

Canklow (Rotherham): *Kankelawe* 1202 FF. Second element OE *hlāw* 'hill'.

Scholes (ib.): *Scales* 1284 YInq, *Scoles* 1554 FF.

Stone (Maltby): *Stane* 1324 Goodall, *Stone* 1329 BM.

Wro (Tickhill E. of Rotherham) occurs 1226 FF.

The Barnsley-Sheffield district between the Dearne-Don and the Derbyshire border.

Onesacre (near Sheffield): *Anesacre* 1086 DB, *Anesacr'* 1219 Ass, *Anesaker*, *Onysacker* c 1300 BM, *Onesaker* 1432 Goodall. First element OE *ān* 'one', probably used as a personal name.

Old Town (Barnsley): *Vetus Villa*, *Altona*, *Oldtona* n. d. Pont, *Oldeton* 1307-27 BM.

Tinsley (NE. of Sheffield): *Tineslauue* 1086 DB, *Tineslawe* 1201 P, 1230 Ep, *Tynneslawe* 1418 BM, *Tinesloue* 1240 Ep, *Tunneslowe* 1292 YInq, *Tyneslowe* 1297 Subs. Second element OE *hlāw* 'mound, hill', the first being an OE pers. n. *Tynni*.

Wombwell: *Wanbuelle* 1086 DB, *Wambewelle* 1195-1216 YCh 646, 1240 FF, 1286 Wakef, *Wombwell* 1366, 1433 YD, *Wombewell* 1379 PT. First element OE *wamb* 'womb' in some transferred sense.

Aldwark (NE. of Rotherham): *Aldewerk* 1226 FF. Here *ā* was doubtless shortened early. Langsett: *Langeside* 1208-11 YCh 1802, 1255 FF. Here *a* is due to early shortening of *ā*, analogous to that in Langley and the like, which are found all over England.

Nottinghamshire

Undoubtedly an *ō*-area. Examples are not very numerous, but no doubt many might be added to those collected.

Gotham go:tām: *Gatham* 1086 DB, *Gataham* 1152 BM, *Gotham* 1291 Tax, 1316 FA. OE *gāt(a)hām*, the first element being OE *gāt* 'goat'.

Grove: *Graue* 1086 DB, *Graue* 1194, 1230 P, *Graue* 1201 P, *Grave* 1236 Fees, 1236 Ep, 1291 Tax, *Grove* 1329 QW. OE *grāf* 'grove'.

Shireoaks (on the boundary of Yorks, Notts and Derbyshire):

Scirakes 1154-89, *Shirakes* 1286 Ch, *Schyrehokes* 1301 YD, *Shirokes* 1329 QW. 'The shire oaks', i.e. 'oaks marking the county boundary'.

Styrrup: *Estirape* 1086 DB, *Stirap* 1200 P, 1236 Fees, *Styrapp* 1420 BM, *Stirop* 1242 Fees, 1445 BM. Second el. OE *rāp*.

(Stanton on the) Wolds: (*Stanton super*) *Wold* 1240 Mutschmann, *P. N. Notts*, (*S. on*) *Seggeswold* 1286 AD, *le Wolde* 1252 Ipm, *Waldas* 1363 BM.

Bassetlaw Wap.: *Bernesedelawe* 1086 DB, *Bersetelawa* 1166-1194 P, *Bersetelaw* 1219 Fees, 1275 RH, *Bersetelawe* 1303 FA, *Bersetelowe* 1316 FA, *Bersetlowe* 1327 Subs, *Barsettelowe* 1331 Fine. Second element OE *hlāw* 'mound'. The modern form in *-law* is probably due to readoption of the form found in early records.

Derbyshire

An *ō*-area. The examples are again not very numerous, but could doubtless easily be added to.

Coal Aston: *Cold Aston* c 1260, 1485 Derby. Coal is, of course, the adjective *cold*.

Dronfield: *Dranefeld* 1086 DB, 1286 FA, *Dronefeld* 13 Derby, 1291 Tax, 1308 FF, *Dronfeld* 1431 FA. Identical with *Dronsfield* *supra* p. 155.

Rowland: *Ralunt* 1086 DB, *Raalund* 1169 P, *Ralun* 1196 P, *Ralund* 1200 P, *Rolound* 1348 DbAS 36, *Rolond* 1365 Derby. OS cand *rā-lundr* 'roedeer grove'.

A great many names contain OE *hlāw* 'mound, hill'. The *Lowe*: *Le Lowe* 1216-72 Derby. — *Lowes Hill*: *Laves* 1086 DB, *Lawes* c 1200-10, *Lowes* c 1200, 1200-50 Darley. — *Baslow*: *Basselau* 1086 DB, *Bassalawa* 1157 P, *Basselawa* 1179, 1194 ff. P, *Basselawe* 1274 RH, 1302 FA, *Basselowe* 1242 Fees, 1252 Ch. — *Callow* (Wirksworth): *Caldelaue* 1086 DB, *Caldlawe* a 1246 RA, *Caldelowe* 1299 FF. — *Foolow*: *La Foulowe* 1284 Ipm, *Fuwelowe* 1338 ib. — *Hucklow*: *Hokelawe* 1253-8 Derby, *Hukelowe* 1265, 1285 Ch, *Huckelowe* 1301 BM. — *Hurdlow*: *Hordlawe* 1244 FF, 13 Derby, *Hordlowe* 1251 Ch, *Horde-low*e 1298 Ipm. — *Shardlow*: *Serdelau* 1086 DB, *Sherdelawe* 1240 FF, *Serdelawe* 1290 Ch, *Sardeloua* c 1200 BM, *Schardelowe* 1228-40, 1249-65 Chester, *Schardelow* 1242 Fees. — *Wardlow*: *Wardelawe* 1258 FF, *Wardlowe* 1275 RH. Several other names in *-low* might be added.

Lincolnshire

The county falls into three divisions, Lindsey, the northern part, Kesteven, the south-western part, and Holland, the south-eastern part. It is a remarkable fact that in Lincolnshire OE (OS cand) *ā* frequently remains as *a* in place-names. Most of the places are in Lindsey, but some are in Kesteven.

Aby (Lindsey): *Abi* 1086 DB, *Aby* 1219 Ep, 1251 Ch, 1291 Tax, *Haby* c 1300 BM. OS cand *Ā-bȳr* 'village on the river'. First element OS cand *ā* 'river'. Cf. Dan *Aaby*, Swed *Aby*.

Ailby (Lindsey): *Alebi* 1086 DB, *Alabi* 12 DC, *Alebi* ib., 1219 Ass, *Aleby* 13, 1392 BM. First element OS cand *Āli* pers. n.

Aisby (Lindsey): *Asebi* 1086 DB, *Asebia* c 1145 DC, *Aseby* 1234 FF,

1402 FA. — Aisby (Kesteven): *Asebi* 1086 DB, *Aseby* 13, 1306 BM, 1475 Pat, *Aysby* 1563 BM. First element OScand *Āsi* pers. n.

Aylesby (Lindsey): *Alesbi* 1086 DB, 1202 Ass, 13 BM, *Alesby* 1483 BM, *Aylesby* c 1450 Lincs. Dioc. Doc. (EETS 149). First element OScand *Āli* pers. n.

Cabourn (Lindsey): *Caburne* 1086 DB, *Caburna* c 1115 LiS, *Kaburne* 1201 Cur, *Kaburn'* 1219 Ass, *Cayborne* 1537 BM. First element ME *cā*, *cō* 'jackdaw'.

North Cadeby (Lindsey): *Cadebi* 1086 DB, *Cateby* 1254 Val. — South Cadeby (Lindsey): *Catebi* 1086 DB, c 1115 LiS. First element apparently OScand *Kāti* pers. n.

Careby (Kesteven): *Careby* 1199 (1332) Ch, 1466 BM, *Karbi* 1202 Ass, *Kareby* 1219 Ep. First element OScand *Kāri* pers. n.

Casewick (Kesteven): *Casuic* 1086 DB, *Casewic* 1198 FF, *Casewik* 1292 Ch, *Casewyke* 1333 Ch. A Scandinavianized form of OE *Cēsewic* 'cheese farm', where Scand *ā* seems to have replaced OE *æ* (*ē*); cf. *Studia Neophilologica*, ii, p. 33.

Spalding (Holland): *Spaldyng* 1051 KCD 795, *Spallinge* 1086 DB, *Spaldinges* 1199 (1330) Ch, *Spalding* 1204 FF etc., *Spauldinges* 1230 Ch. The OE base must have been *Spaldingas*, in which *ā* may have been lengthened before *ld*. But the example is not conclusive, as lengthening may not have taken place in the trisyllabic form.

Swaby (Lindsey): *Suabi* 1086 DB, *Suauebi* 12 DC, *Swaby* 1254 Val. — Swaton (Kesteven): *Suavintone*, *Suavetone* 1086 DB, *Suaueton* 1190 P, *Suaton* 1265, *Swaueton* 13, *Swayton* 1578 BM. First element apparently OScand *Svāfi* or an OE **Swāfa* pers. n.

Walmsgate (Lindsey): *Walmesgar* 1086 DB, 1431 FA, *Walmesgare* 1202 Ass, c 1292 BM, 1316, 1428 FA, 1517 AD, *Walmeresgara* c 1115 LiS, *Walmeresgare* 1193 P. Second element OE *gāra* 'wedge-shaped piece of land'. At a late date *-gare* was replaced by *-gate* owing to popular etymology.

A difficult case is Caenby (Lindsey): *Couenebi* 1086 DB, *Couenby* a 1223 RA, *Casnabi* c 1115 LiS, *Cauenebi* 1191 ff. P, 1219 Ass, *Caveneby* 1291 Ch, *Caneby* 1431 FA. First element apparently an OE **Cāfna* pers. n. (cf. Cavendish, Cavenham), derived from OE *cāf* 'brisk'. But the o-forms are too early to be due to a change *ā* > *ō*. Apparently we have here a change *a* > *o* before *v*, analogous to that in *govel*, *novel* etc. from *gavel*, *navel* etc., found in East Midland texts (Jordan, § 29, note 1). OE *ā* would be shortened early in such position.

OE *ā* has become *ō* in the following names.

Beltisloe Wap. (Kesteven): *Belteslau* 1086 DB, 1212 Fees, *Belteslawe* 1086 DB, 1202 Ass, 1275 RH, *Beliteslawe* 1316 FA, *Beltislowe* 1242 Fees, *Belthislowe* 1265 Misc, *Belteslowe* 1327 Subs. See Anderson, *Hundred Names*. Second element OE *hlāw* 'mound'.

Boston (Holland): *Botuluestan* 1130 P, *Botulfstan* 1281 QW, *Bostane* 1343 Bridlington Cart., *Botolfston* 13 Dame Sirip. Second element OE *stān*, which may well here mean 'stone building (church)'. Cf. "curtem que ... adad antiquum petrosus ædificium id est æt *Hwæt*mundes stane a civibus appellatur" 889 BCS 561, and ON *steinn* 'stone building'.²

² I owe this suggestion to Professor Otto von Friesen, Uppsala.

Cold Hanworth (Lindsey): *Coldhameworth* 1284 Abbr, *Calthaneworth* 1322 Ipm.

Cuxwold (Lindsey): *Cucualt* 1086 DB, *Cucuwald* c 1115 LiS, 12 DC, *Kukewald* 1202 Ass, *Cukewald* 1262 Ipm, *Cokewold* 1291 Tax, 1303 FA. Second element OE *wald*.

Humberstone (Lindsey): *Humbrestone* 1086 DB, *Humberstein* c 1115 LiS, *Humberstain* 1228 BM, *Humberstan* 1303, 1316 FA, *Ubirston* 1303, *Humberston* 1346 FA. Second element OE *stān*, sometimes Scandinavianized to *-stain*. The DB form is clearly due to association of the second element with OE *-tūn*.

Syston (Kesteven): *Sidestan* 1086 DB, 1205 Cur, 1276 RH, *Sythestan* 1280 Ipm, *Sydeston* 1291 Tax, *Siston* 1346 FA. Second element OE *stān*.

Stixwold (Lindsey): *Stigeswalde* 1086 DB, *Stikeswald* 1212 Fees, 1254 Val, *Stykeswalde* 1341 NI, *Stikeswold* 1276 RH, *Stykeswold* 1303 FA, 1365, 1425 BM. Second element OE *wald*.

Whaplode (Holland): *Copelade* 1086 DB, *Quappelad* 1202 Ass, 1235, 1296 Ch, *Quappelade* 1250 FF, *Quappelode* 1232 Bracton, *Quapelode* 1254 Val, *Whaploade* 1616 BM. The second element is OE *(ge)lād* 'water course'.

Newtonle Wold (Lindsey): *Waldneweton* 1206 Ass, 1236 Ep, 1271 FF, *Waldneuton* 1297 BM, *Woldneuton* 1274, 1297 BM.

Two names call for special discussion, Oseby and Scopwick.

Oseby (Kesteven, close to Aisby): *Asedebi* 1086 DB, 1202 Ass, *Asedeby* 1242 Fees, *Oseby* 14 BM, *Osebeby* (sic), *Useby* 1316 FA, *Ouseby* 1331 Ch, *Oosbye* 1547, *Ooseby* 1560 BM. The first element is an OS cand personal name in *Ās-*, perhaps ODan *Aswith*, *Asede* 1408. The *o* in the *o*-forms of the name was evidently a close *ō* (*ō*), which is due to the Scand *Ās-* having been alternatively replaced by OE *Os-*, a common phenomenon (cf. e.g. *Osgodby*, which contains ODan *Asgautr*). *Aswith* appears as *Oswid* in DB.

Scopwick (Kesteven): *Scap(e)uic* 1086 DB, *Scapewic* c 1150 DC, *Scapwic* 1170 P, 12 BM, *Scaupwyk* 1303, *Scaupewyk* 1316, *Scaupwik* 1346 FA, *Skaupewyk* 1331 Ch. The name is a Scandinavianized form of OE *Scēap-wic* 'sheep farm', analogous to *Casewick* (*supra*). It appears to represent an OS cand *Skāpwik*. No early form *Scopwik* is recorded. No doubt *ā* was shortened early in *Scāpwic*, and the modern form developed out of it. The frequent early spellings with *au* suggest that in this name *a* became *au* owing to epenthesis of the *w* of the next syllable. Later on *au* became [ɔ:], and this was shortened to [ɔ].

It is not to be expected that it will generally be possible to draw a definite boundary-line between *ā*- and *ō*-districts, unless there is or was formerly some topographical feature of such a character as prevented intercourse between adjoining districts, or rendered it difficult, for instance a chain of hills, a stretch of marshy land or of forest. The hilly land between Lancashire and Yorkshire was such an effective barrier. A river would not as a rule prevent communication; more likely the watershed between two rivers might be expected to do so. Yet we find the lower Ribble form the boundary, while a little higher up the sharp Longridge Fell

served as one. The Humber, in later times at least, marks the border line between \bar{a} and \bar{o} . Where there was no marked topographical barrier, there would be sure to be overlapping in border districts. The people in a border area would generally have intercourse not only with the main district of which it formed a part, or to which it belonged for administrative or ecclesiastical purposes, but also with neighbouring parishes belonging to a different hundred or county.

The North and the East Riding of Yorkshire are definitely \bar{a} -areas. The few instances of the rounded vowel found are clearly due to the influence of Standard English or to scribes who spoke another dialect than that prevalent in the district where the place was situated. The \bar{a}/\bar{o} -boundary in Yorkshire runs through the West Riding. To judge by place-names, the part south of the river Aire from its mouth to about Keighley and a line drawn due west from there to the Lancashire border is \bar{o} -area, except possibly for a narrow strip along the Lincolnshire border. The district to the north of the Ouse and the Wharfe from its mouth to about Ilkley and from there to about Keighley is certainly an \bar{a} -area. In the westernmost section, the southern boundary of the \bar{a} -area coincides with the northern boundary of the \bar{o} -area. The line is formed by a chain of hills, Steeton, Sutton, Ickornshaw Moors. This line cuts off a small section of Staincliff Wapentake, whose main part is north of it and is an \bar{a} -area, from the rest of the wapentake. Its southern portion, the Keighley district, which is an \bar{o} -area, presumably had more intimate connections with its neighbours to the south than with the rest of the wapentake.

The fairly narrow strip of land between the rivers Wharfe and Ouse on the one hand and the Aire on the other from about Keighley-Ilkley downstream may be termed debatable land. It falls into three sections, which must be discussed separately.

The western section, as far as about Otley-Guiseley, was the western part of the old Skeyrack Wapentake. Here the prominent Rombalds Moor might be expected to have formed an effective barrier. Unfortunately the only example in point is here really Faweather. The place is south of Rombalds Moor, and the name may indicate that in this section the river Aire was the \bar{a}/\bar{o} -boundary. However, it is not impossible that early shortening of \bar{a} may have taken place in Faweather. We may compare Facit in south Lincs, olim *Fagheside*, whose first element, like that of Faweather, is OE *fāg*.

The next section embraces the rest of Skeyrack Wap. and reaches from the gap between Rombalds Moor and the Chevin as far as the Roman road past Aberford (the Harewood-Leeds district). Here the Chevin with its continuation eastward and the ancient Elmet Forest might have formed a linguistic boundary. Unfortunately, there are no conclusive examples in the district immediately south of the Wharfe. Harewood is etymologically doubtful. Rawden Hill, the name of a hill near Otley, might contain OE *rā* 'roe' or *rāw* 'row', but no early forms have been found. The name Skeyrack is difficult to judge. One early instance shows *o*, and the later form in *a* may be due to alternative shortening of \bar{a} in an unstressed syllable or even to the Scandinavianized form *-eik*. The name originally denoted the meeting-place, whose situation is doubtful. It may have been at Burley in Wharfedale (see Anderson, *op. cit.*). But such a name was known all over the district, and its form may have varied, being *Skirāk* in

the northern, *Skirōk* in the southern portion. — To the tracts nearer the Aire belong the examples Coldcotes, Scholes, and Hesselrow. All three are somewhat doubtful instances. In Coldcotes, the *o*-form has not been found in early sources, and *Cold-* appears to be due to a later change. In Scholes the *a*-form persists as late as 1329, and the *o*-form may have been introduced from the districts south of the Aire, where the name is frequent, and where the common noun must have been used in the form *scole*. Hesselrow in Parlington is *Hesilrow* 1352, but the other forms from 1352 YD quoted may indicate that *ā* was normally preserved in that neighbourhood, *Hesilrow* 1352 being due to influence from more southerly dialects.

The third section is the old Barkston Ash wapentake, the Tadcaster-Selby district. The tracts along the southern bank of the Wharfe have the important examples Cawood, Smaws, Tadcaster, which are isolated names that would show the really indigenous forms. Wray has early instances with *o*, but these are easily explained as due to overlapping of the *o*-form certainly used south of the Aire. For the district on the northern bank of the Aire we really have only one fairly trustworthy example, *Louerdwod* 1333 (in Gateforth). An isolated form is, of course, not to be implicitly trusted, especially as its first component is a word in living use, whose form might be due to the scribe. The Selby district has very few examples. *Eskewro* 1276 is isolated and might have been introduced by the RH scribe. Forms such as *del Wra* 1243, *Aldehegges* ('old hedges') 1237, *Gateleding* (*Gate-* very likely OE *gāt* 'goat') n. d. Selby are not conclusive, being found in so early documents. It may be added that *Gateforth* is no doubt OE *Gāta-ford* 'goats' ford', but that its later form is due to Scandinavianization (*Gæiteford* c 1030 etc.), and that Barlow (near Selby) was formerly Barley (*Bernlege* c 1030 YCh 7, *Berlay* 1205 FF etc.).

After all, the strip of land between the rivers Aire and Wharfe-Ouse was a border district, and there may well have been vacillation in the pronunciation of OE *ā*. It may be the boundary was really the Aire, so that the *o*-forms in place-names from the northern side of the river are due to overlapping of the *o* used south of the river. But it is also possible, perhaps even more probable, that the boundary was formed by the Chevin and its continuation and by Elmet Forest, so that the Aire valley was *ō*-area, the Wharfe-Ouse valley being *ā*-area. When cultivation spread up the hillside and into Elmet Forest, the two dialect types would meet and could hardly fail to influence each other. The early place-name forms seem really to be best explained if such a state of things may be assumed. At any rate there is nothing in the place-name material to suggest that the rounded type in Middle English times reached the river Wharfe.

Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, of course, are definite *ō*-areas.

Lincolnshire, on the other hand, offers puzzling problems. Several names, as *Aby*, *Ailby*, *Aisby* (2), *Cabourn*, *Careby*, *Casewick*, *Walmsgate*, preserve *a*. Most are isolated names, which would reveal the internal development, while names such as *Beltisloe*, *Cuxwold*, *Stixwold*, *Newton le Wold* contain elements in living use. Most of the names that preserve *a* denote places in Lindsey, but one *Aisby*, *Careby*, *Casewick*, and *Swaton* are in Kesteven. Of the places whose names show the rounded vowel, *Beltisloe* and *Syston* are in Kesteven,

Boston and Whaplode in Holland, the rest being in Lindsey. Names such as Aby are best explained, if we may assume that OE *ā* was in the first instance preserved in Lincolnshire, at least in Lindsey, and that the later *o* is due to infiltration from neighbouring counties (Notts, Northants, Norfolk). It is difficult to explain Aisby, Casewick etc. in Kesteven, unless *ā* was preserved there too. Holland might have had *ō* from the first.

If this theory is correct, we must assume that Lincolnshire in the old days was largely isolated from its neighbours on the south and west and had more intimate relations with the East Riding of Yorkshire, an old *ā*-area. This is a quite reasonable assumption. Lincolnshire was separated from its southern neighbours by the Wash and the extensive fenlands on the lower Nene and Welland, which were not fully drained till quite late times. Communications here would chiefly follow the main roads. On the boundary against Notts were fenlands on the Trent and its tributaries. Against Leicestershire the wolds, in the old days doubtless mainly forest, would form a barrier. It is noteworthy that the name Lindsey contains OE *ēg* 'island', the name meaning 'the island of Lindis'. Later on, when the draining of the fens began and communication with the neighbours on the south and west became facilitated, the Lincs. dialects came under the influence of the Midland ones, and *ō*-forms gradually displaced the genuine Lincs. *ā*-forms.

The above theory was advanced by me already in a review of Luick's *Hist. Gr. in Anglia-Beiblatt* 34, p. 199 f. Jordan, § 44, note 1, prefers to explain these place-name forms as due to loan from the north. I do not see how such a process could be explained. None of the place-names adduced are found in the northern counties, and influence from Northern dialects on Lincs. place-names is surely out of the question. Still the conclusion that OE *ā* did not normally develop to *ō* in Lincs. dialects is rather startling, and it may be worth while to try some other explanation of the *a*-forms.

It is a striking fact that the majority of the names with *ā* preserved are Scandinavian in origin. It might be suggested that the preservation of *ā* is due to Scandinavian influence. This would imply that a Scandinavian language lived on long in Lincs., and that in Scandinavian speech *ā* was preserved. But there is hardly any reason to suppose that the Scandinavian language was still spoken in Lincolnshire about 1200. Moreover, *ā* is preserved in the native Walmsgate. It may also be pointed out that *ā* is not generally preserved in Scandinavian names in Yorkshire or Leicestershire, where a Scandinavian language will have lived on as long as in Lincolnshire. For Leicestershire examples see *infra*.

Alternatively we may suggest that in the names under discussion *ā* was shortened before the change *ā* > *ō*, and then again lengthened. This is a possible explanation in some names, and it may hold good for some peculiar cases in other counties, where *ā* otherwise became *ō*. There is especially Blaby in Leics.: *Bladi* DB, *Blabi* 1163 DC, *Blaby* 1327 Subs. The first element appears to be OScand *blār* 'dark', used as a byname; cf. *Randulf Bla* 1202 Ass (Lincs.). Another example is Cadeby in Leics., S. Yks., Lincs., if it contains OScand *Kāti* pers. n. In Leics. *ā* becomes *ō*, also in Scandinavian names. Examples are: Coston (Castone DB, *Caston* 1205 Cur, 1290 Ch, *Coston* 1227 Ch, 1254 Val) from *Kāts tūn* (*Kāts* the genitive of OScand *Kātr* pers. n.), Oakthorpe (*Achetorpe*

DB, *Okthorpe* 16 Bodl) and *Othorpe* (*Aketorp* 13 Ep), whose first element is OScand *Āki* pers. n., *Welby* (*Alebi* DB, *Oleby* 1242 Fees), identical in origin with *Ailby*, all in Leics. For *Cadeby* shortening of *ā* seems very probable, but it may seem less so for *Blaby*. However, there is the analogy of *Raby* Ches. (*Rabbi* 1096—1101, c 1150 Chester), which is identical in origin with *Roby* Lancs. But even if shortening of *ā* may explain some names with *ā* preserved, it is difficult to believe that it could have taken place in such a large number of Lincs. names.

Finally it may be suggested that the preservation of *ā* is due to the spelling. Early forms such as *Aby*, *Aleby*, *Careby* might have become traditional and have been kept even after the change $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$, the pronunciation eventually adapting itself to the written form. This might explain an isolated case such as *Blaby*, but hardly the numerous Lincs. cases.

On the whole it seems to me that the first theory meets the case best, though I am not blind to the difficulties it involves. A few words will be said later on about the question of chronology.

The date of the change $\bar{a} > \bar{o}$

Luick, *Hist. Gr.*, § 369, holds that the change began in the old West Saxon territory (inclusive of Worcestershire) and in Kent, and spread from there to the Midlands. In the South the stage \bar{o} was reached already in the 12th century, while in the South Midlands \bar{o} developed in the 13th century. The North Midlands were slower to follow suit, and south Yorkshire had a sound intermediate between *ā* and \bar{o} (einen dem a nahestehenden Laut) as late as the first half of the 14th century. The evidence of place-names does not altogether bear out this.

In the \bar{o} -districts of Yorkshire spellings with *o* frequently appear in the 13th century, and they generally become regular in the latter half of the century. In the early 13th century *a*-forms preponderate. Early *o*-spellings are found for *Ardsley*, *Oldfield* 1219, *Wro* (Tickhill) 1226, *Tinsley* 1240, *Oakworth* 1246, to take a few examples. From the latter half of the 13th century the Wakefield Court Rolls offer important material. These rolls began to be kept in 1274. They refer to the district south of the Aire, thus to the northernmost part of the \bar{o} -area. Spellings with *o* are common from the very first and soon become more or less regular. Thus we find *Honeley*, *Scoles* 1274, *Wlvewro* 1275, *Okes* 1277 etc. The dates agree with those in Lancs., where we find *o*-forms in *Davyscoles* 1246, *Simonstone* 1246, *Whiston* 1252, *Barlow*, *Horwich* 1254, *Feniscowles*, *Oldham* 1276. Exceptionally early is *Scholfele* 1212 for *Scholefield* in south Lancs.

In some names *a*-forms continue to be used more or less frequently at a fairly late date, as in *Oakworth* 1362, in *Featherstone* 1341, in *Whiston* 1355, in *Blaxton* 1379. Here we must reckon not only with traditional spellings, but also with shortening in a weakly stressed syllable or before a consonant-group, the *o*-form being due to later substitution of the full form.

It seems to me the material indicates that the change of *ā* to \bar{o} took

place even in Yorkshire and Lancashire as early as the former half of the thirteenth century, and that the early *a*-spellings are largely due to tradition. I do not think there is any reason to place the change very much later in the North Midlands than in the South Midlands or in the South. For an examination of the place-name material shows that the earliest *o*-spellings in counties such as Worcester or Devonshire do not so markedly antedate those in Yorkshire or Lancashire as one might have supposed. A few examples will have to suffice. The examples are chiefly taken from extant monographs, especially the publications of the Place-name Society.

Devonshire. See PND.

The earliest *o*-forms are found for Whitestone (Chittlehampton) 1199, Thurlestone 1243, Holdstrong, Shilston 1244, Oakford, Shilstone 1249. Hennock (*Hainoc* DB), if containing OE *āc*, is probably due to association with Celtic names in *-ok*. Staverton is an exceptional case. It is *Stofordtun* 1050-72 Earle, *Stovretona* DB; the present Staverton is due to a collateral form found as *Stafortuna* c 1070 Earle, *Staverton* 1285 FA etc. The base is OE *Stānford-tūn*; no doubt *ā* was nasalized in connection with the loss of *n* and became *ō*.

Dorsetshire. See Fägersten, *Pl. Ns of Dorset*.

Early *o*-forms are found for Broadway 1242 (but *a* still in 1428), Redhone, Rocombe 1244.

Sussex. See PNSx.

The earliest *o*-forms are for W. Hoathly 1155 (but 15th cent. copy), Rogate 1203, Slinfold 1225, Todham 1279 (*a* still 1500), Goring 1280 (*a* still 1327). Ockham (*o* c 1205) probably contains OE *Occa* pers. *n*.

Kent. See Wallenberg, *Pl. Ns of Kent*.

We find *o* in Wechylstone 1191, Knockholt 1197, Molash 1226, Sevenoaks 1230, Kingsnorth, Sutton at Hone 1240. But *a* is found in Kingsnorth, Stone 1261, in Hothfield 1278.

Worcestershire. See PNWo.

As a rule *o*-forms are found first c 1250, e.g. Rock, Oswaldslow 1255, Clevelode, Coldnalls, Oakley, Redstone 1275; Rock occurs with *a* as late as 1338. Early instances of *o* are found in Evenlode c 1200 (but *a* still 1275), Southstone (*Suleston* 1214, but in a late transcript, *Sulstan* 1308).

Essex. See PNEss.

The earliest *o*-forms are found in Harlow 1238, Pentlow 1254, Oakley 1294 (*a* 1330). (Hatfield) Broad Oak is *Brodehoke* 1121-36, but in a 14th cent. transcript.

Warwickshire. See PNWa.

Early *o*-forms are found for Slowley 1221, Ansley 1232, Pathlow 1240, Alcott 1272, Brinklow, Stoneleigh 1275.

Leicestershire. Material from my own collections.

Here *o*-forms are remarkably early and numerous. Early *o* in Harston (*Hareston* 1180 ff. P) and Humberstone (*Humbristona* c 1200 Fr) may be due to association with *-tūn*. But we find *o* in Wymeswold c 1190 DC, Coston 1227 Ch, (Husbands) Bosworth 1230 P, 1236 Fees, Welby (*Oleby*) 1242 Fees, Walton on the Wolds (*Wold*) 1286 Cl. Prestwold is *Prestwolde* even in DB, *Prestewold* c 1253 BM, but this is an exceptional case.

Lincolnshire.

If the theory advanced above on the history of OE *ā* in Lincs. is correct, we should expect to find *o*-forms later in Lincs. than in Leics. and other Midland counties. This expectation is not altogether fulfilled. Indeed, there is a remarkably early example of *o* just in one Lincs. place-name, viz. *Rohage* 1155 DC (original MS), corresponding to *Rahāga* in another contemporary document. The locality was in Gayton le Wold (Lindsey). The example is interesting as one of the earliest instances of the rounded vowel that can be exactly dated. However, the grant recorded in the charter was not made by a local landowner, but by Conan, duke of Brittany, and the charter was issued at Redon in Brittany. The form *Rohage* is doubtless due to a scribe who spoke a more southerly dialect. *Rahaga* (*Rohage*) 'enclosure for roedeer' was virtually a common noun and liable to be modified by a scribe.

On the whole *o*-forms crop up later in Lincs. than in Leics. or Derbyshire, even if the difference is not large. Some of the earliest instances are not really conclusive for Lincs. dialects. Thus *Quappelode* 1232 is in Bracton's Note-book, not a local text. *Boston* is rarely found in early documents in its English form, the Latin *Sanctus Botulphus* being normally used. The only early *o*-form found is *Botolfston* in the Fabliau *Dame Sirip*, which probably dates from c. 1250, and where *Botolfston* rhymes with *gon* 'gone'. *Dame Sirip* was probably not written in Lincs., but somewhat farther south, e.g. in Norfolk. The earliest *o*-form for Beltisloe is in 1242 Fees, not a local text. Otherwise *o* appears in Whaplode (Holland) 1254 Val, Beltisloe (Kesteven) 1265 Misc, Newton le Wold 1274 BM, Stixwould 1276 RH, Cold Hanworth 1284 Abbr, Cuxwold, Syston 1291 Tax, Humberstone 1303 FA. Forms in a live on fairly long, being found in Beltisloe, Humberstone 1316, Cold Hanworth 1322, Stixwould 1341, Newton le Wold 1297.

These figures are given for what they are worth. They indicate that if *ā* in the first instance remained unchanged in Lincs. speech³, the influence of neighbouring dialects began to make itself felt already about the middle of the thirteenth century, and the pronunciation *ō* was fully established in Lincs. about 1300.

It remains to examine how far the *ā/ō*-boundary determined by the help of place-names agrees with that in the present dialects. The boundary in Lancashire has already been dealt with.

According to Luick, *Hist. Gr.*, § 369, note 1 (*Untersuchungen*, § 33), the boundary begins at the Lancashire-Yorkshire border (at Mitton), follows the boundary between the two counties to a point 9 miles NE. of Burnley, where the Lincs. boundary turns south, from there runs first east and then south-east between the rivers Wharfe and Aire, turns south and crosses the Aire somewhat west of Snaith, eventually reaching the Lincs. border east of Doncaster; it then follows the Lincs. border to the Humber and the latter

³ In favour of the theory that *ā* remained unrounded in Lincs., may be adduced the fact that in Modern N. Lincs. dialects (Ellis's D 20, iii) *āw* falls together with *aw*. See Luick, *Untersuchungen*, § 39.

to the North Sea. This boundary is really that between Ellis's⁴ Northern and North Midland (Distr. 30 and 24), which is drawn by him on the evidence of the development of OE *ū* and the form of the definite article, not on the development of OE *ā*. The exact boundary line between *ā* and *ō* cannot be definitely determined by the help of the material in Ellis or of any other available material. But on the whole there can be no doubt that it is correct. Thus it is certain that the Leeds district north of the Aire is *ō*-area.

On most points the boundary as given by Luick agrees closely with that indicated for Middle English times by place-names. In the westernmost part of the West Riding the agreement is complete. In the strip of land between the Wharfe and the Aire the boundary now runs about midway between the two rivers, the Leeds district being *ō*-area. The ME place-name material points to the same boundary or one only slightly more southerly (the Aire line). The Humber is now the boundary between *ā* and *ō*; this at any rate agrees with the state of things in later ME times, as shown by place-names.

There remains the strip of the West Riding along the Lincs. border, the Snaith and Thorne districts, which according to Luick preserve the unrounded vowel. The evidence of place-names for this part is not conclusive. The only instance in the Snaith district (*Blosike* 1276) is too isolated to prove a general change *ā* > *ō* here. A comb farther south has not been found in early sources; it may be a late name, and its etymology is not certain. No form of *Blaxton* with *o* has been found till the 16th century, but the name is rarely recorded in early sources; the instances given are all that have been collected. There is really nothing to prove that *ā* became *ō* in this district, but neither can it be proved, with the material available, that it remained unchanged. We must be content with a *non liquet*.

On the other hand it does not seem to me to be absolutely certain that the later Snaith dialect preserved *ā*. The words presupposing the unrounded vowel are few in Ellis's list (D 30, Var. iv, p. 532 f.); they are really only *woe* (if not from ME *wei*), *hale*, *gone*, possibly *both*. *Rode* (with *ee*) is not conclusive; cf. Luick, *Untersuchungen*, § 34. Most of the words with OE *ā* show rounded forms. Those with the unrounded vowel may be relics of an earlier stage at which *ā* regularly remained unrounded. But they may also have been imported from Holderness. It may be argued that as the Snaith and Holderness dialects agree in retaining ME *ū* as [u:] and in the form of the definite article, it is to be expected that they would agree also as regards the development of OE *ā*. But the change *ā* > *ō* belongs to an earlier period than the differentiation of ME *ū* or the definite article. The Snaith-Thorne district may have gone linguistically with those of Pontefract or Doncaster in early Middle English times, and later on come into closer contact with Holderness.

Whichever view of the matter is correct, it seems very probable that there is hardly any discrepancy between the evidence of place-names and the modern dialects as regards the *ā/ō*-boundary in the Snaith-Thorne district.

⁴ Ellis, *On Early English Pronunciation*, vol. v.

Abbreviations. For more detailed information on sources used, see my *English River-names* or my *Dictionary of English Place-names*.

Abbr = *Placitorum abbreviatio*, 1811. — AD = *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*. — ASC = *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. — Ass = *Assize Rolls*. — BCS = *Cartularium saxonicum*, ed. Birch. — BM = *Index to Charters and Rolls in the British Museum*. — Bodl = *Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian Library*. — Bracton = *Bracton's Note-book*. Ed. Maitland. — Calv = *Calverley Charters*. Thoresby Soc. — Ch = *Charter Rolls*. — Chester = *Chartulary of the Abbey of St. Werburgh, Chester*. Chetham Soc. — CI = *Close Rolls*. — Cockers = *Cockersand Chartulary*. Chetham Soc. — Cur = *Curia Regis Rolls*. — DB = *Domesday Book*. — DbAS = *Journal of Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* — DC = *Danelaw Charters*, Ed. Stenton. — Derby = *Derbyshire Charters*. Ed. Jeayes. — Earle = *Earle, Hand-Book to the Land-Charters*. — Ep = *Episcopal Registers*. — EPD = *Ekwall, Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*. — ER = *The East Riding of Yorkshire*. — FA = *Feudal Aids*. — FC = *Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*. Chetham Soc. — Fees = *The Book of Fees*. — FF = *Feet of Fines*. — Fine = *Calendar of the Finc Rolls*. — For = *Forest Charters*. — Fount = *Memorials of the Abbey of Fountains*. — Fr = *Documents preserved in France*. — Goodall = *Goodall, Place-names of S.W. Yorkshirc*. — Guisb = *Cartularium prioratus de Gyseburnc*. Surtees Soc. — Ipm = *Inquisitiones post mortem*. — KCD = *Codex diplomaticus*. Ed. Kemble. — Kirkstall = *Coucher Book of Kirkstall*. Thoresby Soc. — Lacy = *Two 'Compoti' of .. Henry de Lacy*. Chetham Soc. — LaInq = *Lancashire Inquests, etc*. Lancs. Record Soc. — LiS = *The Lincolnshire Survey*. — Misc = *Inquisitions Miscellaneous*. — Mon = *Dugdale, Monasticon*. — n. d. = no date, undated. — NI = *Nonarum inquisitiones*. — NR = *The North Riding of Yorkshire*. — P = *Pipe Rolls*. — Pat = *Patent Rolls*. — Percy = *The Percy Chartulary*. Surtees Soc. — PN = *Place-names (PND, PNER, PNEss, PNNR, PNSx, PNWa, PNWO = Place-names of Devon, the East Riding, Essex, the North Riding, Sussex, Warwick, Worcester, ed. by the PN Soc., PNLa = Ekwall, Place-names of Lancashire)*. — Pont = *Pontefract Chartulary*. YAS. — PT = *Poll-tax Rolls*. — Pudsay = *Pudsay Deeds*. YAS. — QW = *Placita de Quo Warranto*. — RA = *Registrum antiquissimum*. Linc. Rec. Soc. — RH = *Rotuli hundredorum*. — Riev = *Rievaulx Cartulary*. Surtees Soc. — Sallay = *Sallay Cartulary*. YAS. — Selby = *The Coucher Book of Selby*. YAS. — Subs = *Lay Subsidy Rolls*. — Tax = *Taxatio ecclesiastica*. — Val = *The Valuation of Norwich*. Ed. Lunt. — VE = *Valor ecclesiasticus*. — Wakef = *Wakefield Court Rolls*. YAS. — Whalley = *Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey*. Chetham Soc. — Whitby = *Cartularium Abbathiæ de Whiteby*. Surtees Soc. — WR = *The West Riding of Yorkshire*. — YAS. = *The Yorkshire Arch. Soc. Record Series*. — YCh = *Early Yorkshire Charters*. Ed. Farrer. — YD = *Yorkshire Deeds*. YAS. — YInq = *Yorkshire Inquisitions*. YAS.

Lund.

EILERT EKWALL.

Reviews

The Comedy of Acolastus. Translated from the Latin of Fullonius by JOHN PALSGRAVE. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by P. L. CARVER, Ph. D. (Early English Text Society, Vol. 202, 1937). civ + 312 pp. Oxford University Press. 20s. net.

The present volume is an interesting contribution to the numerous recent publications concerned with the 16th century. Mr. Carver has devoted much time and energy to an edition in which he approaches the Renaissance in a way different from that of most scholars of this period. The strength of the volume lies above all in the excellent introduction, starting with the personal history of John Palsgrave, author of the famous *Lesclarcissement de la Langue Françoise*. The biographical account adds much to our knowledge of a man who, although not among the leading figures of his age, nevertheless holds a not unimportant position.

Whether John Palsgrave may be identified with John Pgrave of Norfolk is an open question, though Mr. Carver is fairly certain about it. In this way he is able to explain many unknown facts of his life. The most important event was his stay in France, which fitted him for his post as a teacher of French and to be the author of the book on the French language. He had many misfortunes in his career, and was defeated more than once in his aims, as were so many of his contemporaries who had to find their way through the intrigues of 16th-century life. But at last he settled in prosperous tranquillity as a royal Chaplain, in possession of a rectory near Cambridge.

His translation and interpretation of the Latin *Acolastus* of Willem de Volder (Gnaphaeus or Fullonius of the Hague) belongs among the early Tudor plays on classical models which were much in vogue under the influence of humanism. The original play was printed in 1530, and the English version appeared 10 years later. The importance of Palsgrave's translation can only be understood if we take into consideration the position of the English language in the first half of the 16th century, as it was on the way to being assimilated to the national spirit. In the decisive struggle between the classical and vernacular languages the latter was victorious in the long run, and was regarded as just as fit for expressing the highest poetical ideas as Greek and Latin were by the strict humanists. Palsgrave's translation and interpretation had the educational purpose of teaching Latin by means of English in order to make his pupils discover what an excellent idiom the English language was. In this respect he was in advance of his time.

Another problem discussed in the introduction was suggested by the question of the literary tradition of *Acolastus*. The play belongs to the very important group dealing with the subject of the Prodigal Son, and seems to have been well known in the later 16th century. The conclusion at which Dr. Carver arrives is that the German version of the Prodigal Son acted by the English players on the continent is no other play than *Acolastus* with some changes (p. XCVIII). To me these conclusions form a strong body of evidence, and the often discussed question whether

Shakespeare was the author of a play *The Prodigal Son*, or at any rate had part in its composition, is answered with great probability in the negative.

I should like to mention another point which seems to cast light on this matter, namely, the influence of Erasmus on Renaissance scholarship. There can be no doubt that he inspired the study of grammar to a marked degree, and Mr. Carver is able in the introduction as well as in the notes to point out many hints the author of the play must have taken from the *Paraphrases* or the *Colloquia*.

Thus the edition will attract the attention of all who are interested in the 16th century. The many notes and the glossary are a good witness to Dr. Carver's critical capacities and will facilitate the understanding of the text. The Early English Text Society may be congratulated on this publication, which is a welcome addition to *The Vulgaria of John Stanbridge and the Vulgaria of Robert Whittinton*, published in 1932.¹

Breslau.

P. MEISSNER.

Die dramatische Technik Thomas Kyds. Studien zur inneren Struktur und szenischen Form des Elisabethanischen Dramas. Von PETER WILHELM BIESTERFELDT. 115 pp. Halle: Niemeyer. 1936. RM. 3.—.

The excellence of the present essay would not be less conspicuous if the author had refrained from calling it, rather pretentiously, "einen ersten Versuch zu einer neuen werknahen Formgeschichte des englischen Renaissance-Dramas" (p. 2). By this phrase, the chapter headings "Der Weg über die Form" and "Die Soziologie der Form" and frequent other uses of the term 'Form' he creates the impression that this is a key-word, containing in nuce a new method of approaching the drama of the Renaissance. However, if we try to discover its exact, technical meaning we are disappointed to find that Dr. Biesterfeldt has not troubled to define it. Though he seems quite charmed by its fashionable sound he uses the word just as loosely as any ordinary speaker of the German language¹.

¹ and reviewed by Professor Meissner in this journal, vol. xv (1933), 98-99.

¹ Usually it denotes that which appears before us, the outer shape of an organism (thus p. 4, lines 7, 23, 32, 37, 39, 40, 41). Yet also the inmost principle characterizing a structure may be called its 'Form'. This meaning seems present in the sentence "Die dichterische Form als Ausdruck dieser Aufbau-tradition erweist sich hier als eine Macht, die stärker ist als der einzelne Mensch" (p. 6; cf. also p. 16, line 7 and p. 71, line 27). If we observe what Dr. Biesterfeldt discusses in his third chapter — the influence of the audience on the playwright, the coming together of the Senecan and the popular dramatic tradition in the *Spanish Tragedy*, the theatre in which the play was probably first performed, the company which is most likely to have acted it first, the various names under which it appears in Henslowe's diary — we cannot help asking why on earth it is condemned to bear the title "Die Soziologie der Form". The very last sentence of the treatise: "Das Verdienst Kyds aber beruht wesentlich in der *technischen* Vollendung der Form dieses Dramentypus, eines Typus, der ein Jahrzehnt später in der vergeistigten und verlebendigten Form des Shakespeare-Dramas zu letzter *künstlerischer* Vollendung geführt wurde" (p. 108), would be clearer if the first use of the word 'Form' had been omitted. The second use illustrates a meaning not yet indicated above, which is mainly characterized by its lack of pregnancy.

He could have stated his programme more clearly in simpler language. It amounts to the recognition of the fact that in dealing with the drama of the Renaissance, and more especially with Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, we obtain worth-while results by a close, resourceful and sensitive analysis of the work itself, seen in its dependence upon various determining factors, rather than by an interpretation that passes from the lives, ideas, personalities of artists to their works. We need not expatiate on how little we know of the majority of Elizabethan playwrights. In the case of the *Spanish Tragedy* only one of the two methods in question is feasible at all. Dr. Biesterfeldt makes use of it like all the other interpreters of the play. His merit is not the finding of a new method but the perfecting and refining of an old one. He is justified in claiming that he offers us new and intimate knowledge of Kyd's masterpiece, and of the pre-shakespearian drama generally, by drawing on all the resources which modern scholarship has to offer him and by paying particular attention to the analysis of the outer form and the inner structure of the work of art before him. His passion for 'Werknähe', a virtue of which no literary scholar or critic can have enough, is exemplary.

Among the factors that have influenced the growth of the *Spanish Tragedy* the stage itself is given most prominence. In his chapter "Die szenische Darstellung" Dr. Biesterfeldt invites us to read the text with the eyes of the student of the theatre. We are not to allow free play to our imagination in reproducing the dramatist's scenes in our minds, but have to imagine them in the terms of the Elizabethan stage. Kyd's method of indicating time and place is investigated. He quite frequently introduces scenes of a neutral character in which time and place are left uncertain. They often merely connect more important scenes, or are given to reflective speeches, monologues or lyrical passages. Time and place of the main scenes, in which decisive actions take place, are normally specified either in stage directions or in the speeches of the figures themselves. The cut between two scenes is indicated by a simple device: no figure present at the end of a scene reappears at the beginning of the next one. Dr. Biesterfeldt spends much ingenuity on the reconstruction of the major scenes in the terms of the stage. His view of how the murder of Horatio was acted (p. 41) does not seem to be quite in agreement with the text. How could Horatio, already hanging in the 'arbor', speak the words:

What, will you murder me?

if the hanging and the murder were performed on a dummy? When dealing with the final play in the play (p. 44 ff.), in which Hieronimo achieves his revenge, Dr. Biesterfeldt arrives at two conclusions that can hardly both be true. He is probably right in supposing that the printed form of the play in the play is considerably longer than the acted form was, and that the players actually used foreign languages in it. An excellent device, by the way, of keeping the audience from forgetting that characters of the main play were performing in the secondary one. If we accept this view there is little room for a further suggestion of Dr. Biesterfeldt's, or is it possible to believe with him that the actors in the secondary play spoke *extempore* in foreign languages?

The author devotes many helpful pages to an analysis of the dramatic structure of the *Spanish Tragedy*. Even here it becomes evident that

the slogan 'Der Weg über die Form' does not do justice to his method. He approaches the problem of structure by studying first the main dramatic motives driving forward and retarding the action. Revenge is the central force, of course; fate, love, intrigue are of importance also; distrust and indecision delay the end of the play. The courses of the main and the secondary action, often interrupted by episodes, are outlined and found to have been arranged by an extremely conscious technician, who tried to create a synthesis between the loose episodic style of the popular drama and the formal severity of Seneca's and his imitators' tragedies. While admiring the skill displayed by Kyd in solving this task Dr. Biesterfeldt frequently notes the coldness of the atmosphere in the play, the comparative lifelessness of the figures, the lack of 'Innerlichkeit' in most of the rhetorical speeches. The two antagonistic principles that have influenced the inner structure of the play have also affected the outer sequence of its acts, scenes and short-scenes. The author uses this last term for bits of action separated from one another by arrivals, or departures, of some importance. His study of the distribution of these various units over the whole of the play induces Dr. Biesterfeldt to favour the theory according to which it was originally composed of five acts. He holds that the third act closes after its seventh scene. We cannot go into his discussion of Kyd's dramatic artifices and their origins, such as the use of the chorus, of sententious phrases, monologues, presentiments, dumb shows, etc. We conclude our survey by drawing attention to his attitude towards the opinions of other critics regarding the nature of Kyd's dramatic figures. He complains of a tendency to view them in rather too favourable a light. He shows that they are 'Spielfiguren', almost completely conditioned by the needs of the action. It is certainly impossible to speak of action springing from character in the *Spanish Tragedy*, though traces of an attempt to create characters may be discovered in some of its figures.

Basel.

R. STAMM.

On the Poetry of Pope. By GEOFFREY TILLOTSON. VI + 179 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1938. 7/6.

With the surprising idea that "the time has not yet come for a proper estimate of Pope either as man or poet", Mr. Tillotson has made it his task to join the 'pioneers' to the best of his ability and has succeeded in writing a very clever and pleasantly lucid apology. One cannot help being impressed by the author's grasp of his subject and it cannot possibly be denied that *On the Poetry of Pope* constitutes a valuable addition to the literature on the subject. Anyone interested in Pope would do well to consult this work before making another attempt at appreciating the most brilliant society entertainer in English literature. He will be spared the baffled feeling which is apt to overcome the student of poetry who approaches Pope as he would approach Wordsworth, or Keats, or even Dryden. Especially those interested in Pope's versification, his literary models and his vocabulary may find very useful hints in Mr. Tillotson's book. It is a pity that the author should seriously detract from the

qualities of his work by his futile attempts to champion perfection where no such perfection exists and where not even the most rabid admirer of Pope would look for perfection. This attitude on the part of the author must be held responsible for such unforgivable pedestrianisms as the following: "He is never forgetting that man is his theme, and, since civilized man spends the dark hours mostly under a roof, it is sentimental to consider that stars have, in the sum of life, more value for him than indoor lighting." (p. 27). The author also regrettably extends his ministrations to the field of morals and by trying to convert the subject of his veneration into a poor misunderstood idealist, he only succeeds in stressing the more unsavoury side of Pope's none too pleasant character. A typical example of this may be found in Mr. Tillotson's commentary on the note appended to the *Epilogue* accompanying *The Rape of the Lock* (p. 42). One cannot escape the unpleasant impression that the author has overshot his mark, such quite apart from the legitimate doubt on the part of the reader whether the cause of poetry is furthered by this unnecessary preoccupation with a poet's personality. Morgan's example is there to warn us. All this, however, may be ascribed to the author's genuine though excessive desire to champion a poet who has been too often summarily condemned. Much may be forgiven for the way in which he has succeeded in pointing out that Pope has no rival in the whole field of English literature as far as intellectual brilliance is concerned. The reader can but agree with the author's praise that "Pope is the most connectedly various of poets." For constructional balance and the absolute control over even the most extensive subjects Pope has no rival in poetry and has had no rival in the whole of English literature until the publication of *Ulysses*. There is, however, one more serious objection against Mr. Tillotson's treatment of his subject. He is not at all sure of his ground with regard to the essence of poetical purity. He has failed to realise that such intellectual mastery as shown by Pope in his poetry could not possibly go together with poetical purity. Nobody could deny "that Pope had the true fire in him" (p. 162). But not even the conscious possession of the poetical faculty could turn Pope into a great poet, however much one is bound to appreciate his literary achievements. Pope lacked the humility which only enables a true poet to efface himself before his vision. He violated the muse and the poet in him with the unequalled brilliance of his brain. In trying to avoid the spiritual exaltation which accompanies and always must accompany good poetry, Pope substituted an intoxication of the brain. And however much these brilliant operations performed on an anaesthetized muse may delight the pundits, the muse is being slowly murdered and no amount of skill and no mere verbal felicity can make up for the absence of that full-blooded beauty which will always remain the greatest delight poetry can afford. We find many indications of Pope's real poetic gifts scattered throughout his work. There are delicious moments when the reader is led to the very ridge of the abyss of beauty, but the poet always shrinks back at the last moment and the consummate society entertainer apologises for his breach of good manners. Pope's ideal of correctness took him to the very limits of his stupendous intellectual gifts, but the same ideal must be held responsible for his failure as a poet.

The Letters of Sir Walter Scott, edited by SIR HERBERT GRIERSON. Vol XI, 1828-1831, Vol. XII, 1831-1832. Centenary Edition. London, Constable. 18 sh.

These are the last volumes of the series, but contrary to expectation the twelfth volume ends not with the last letters, but with some of the first. In the true spirit of Scott, the editor springs a romantic surprise on us — Scott's old desk, a secret drawer discovered, and a long-lost bundle of letters found within. There are his love-letters to Charlotte Carpenter just before his marriage to her in 1797; and letters to her — his "dearest Mimi" — in 1807, 1814, 1815 while travelling. But they are not surprising in any other way. He made love terribly at arm's length. The letters read just like business-letters, and indeed were business-letters, chiefly about his negotiations with her guardian, Lord Downshire. His feelings break through only in the last, written to her waiting for him at Carlisle a week before the wedding, though even it is chiefly an account of how his journey will be delayed by the Scotch prejudices of his parents against travelling on a "fast-day":

I find that the Coach which leaves Edinr. on Tuesday at Midnight will bring me in to Carlisle on Wednesday Evening. I have agreed with much difficulty to abandon the point of setting out upon Tuesday. It is the fast-day, and the George's Square folks would think me riding post haste to the Devil so in compliance with their ideas I have agreed to sacrifice a few hours of happiness. One hates sometimes even to offend well meaning prejudices. I hope to be at Carlisle early on Wednesday evening. We will have only to sign the Contract — and then on Thursday — Dear Dear Charlotte how I adore you. Did you ever know a Man go mad with joy. O how slow I shall think my motions XII. 92-93.

For the rest, these volumes show how the ranks of his correspondents have become woefully thinned. In the December of 1831 his letters are solely to business correspondents, except two to Lockhart and these are political — he is distressed at the progress of the Reform Bill. They are letters such as a secretary would have been employed to write nowadays and it is exasperating to see how his time and strength were wasted on all sorts of details that could as well have been attended to by another hand, thus releasing his energies for intimate and literary work; especially in this last tragic year, when he was felled by the first severe stroke of the paralysis which finally killed him, and yet was struggling to write *Count Robert of Paris*, *Castle Dangerous*, his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* and half a dozen other things. His spirit was still indomitable, but the flesh was overburdened. His letter to Lockhart of March 7, 1831 shows how desperate his condition already was.

My habit of exercise is become almost impossible between debility and pain. If the good weather do not restore me I must take the armchair for the rest of (my) life and I am quite unfit for company unless at home or perhaps with you which makes me look with hope to your coming down. But for the rest I am like the man in the play. I eat well — drink well — & sleep well but that is all my dear friend that is all. But ungrateful as I am I am not sure I should not prefer a good fit of the gout with power when it was over to walk abroad like auld lang syne. But it will not be the tether is shortening almost daily. I sit in my own room and feel nothing that should keep me there long(er) than usual. I go out to walk & set up a half or a quarter of a mile. Riding is as bad for with all the bustle of two men to lift me on horseback and on(e) man to walk by the horses head in case perchance he could start and after all I can not ride above two or three miles. With all this I am far from being unhappy or even uncomfortable except

from feeling myself useless at such a busy period when if things were as they have been I should have been as Burns says

Ready to serve the country weel
With word or pen or pointed steel.....

Positively the pleasure of seeing you and the children is the only rational one to expect in these times & I think I shall keep abreast with Walter & baby and even with exertion with Johnie yet however unfit to keep company with graver folks.....

Yet such was his resilience that, six months later, Abbotsford saw a brief and last revival of its old splendour (as Lockhart called it), in the visit, just when Scott was leaving for Italy, of Wordsworth and his daughter and the Tweedside neighbours, and the house was once more "full of company and in a perfect confusion", (as Laidlaw put it). This was the occasion on which Wordsworth wrote his mournful *Yarrow Revisited*.

Scott was certainly not a great letter-writer in the class of Walpole or Cowper, may not have been a great any kind of writer indeed, but he was a very great man; and never did the massive strength of his personality or his loveliness more appear than in the last weary years of almost constant pain and weakness covered by these final volumes. He was a great gentleman, a great laird, and a great friend.

Groningen.

J. A. FALCONER.

Der englische Kriegerroman (Strukturprobleme). Von HERBERT WEYAND. 82 pp. Bonn: Hanstein. 1933. RM. 4.20.

The subtitle is misleading: the author only devotes 11 pages to the *form* of the English war novel. Indeed, the English war novels constitute no genre by themselves; they are a group of quite heterogeneous books, some of which can hardly be called novels at all, and they offer no scope for that schematic treatment which is so common in modern German theses.

The greater part of Dr. Weyand's treatise consists of an examination of some 30 war books with reference to the way in which they deal with a number of selected points: attitude to the enemy, fear of death, comradeship, the ethical aspect of war, criticism of the Higher Command, the home front, etc., etc. In the result, we get a picture of the English attitude to the war, which has the additional interest that the author, more or less involuntarily and indirectly, constantly contrasts it with that of his own countrymen. Some very characteristic points he, however, misses. He is at pains to show the way in which the war books describe the reactions of the civilian mind suddenly brought face to face with danger and sudden death, but he says nothing about the way in which the English soldiers tried to reconcile themselves to the idea of death by making a jest of it, and he makes no mention of the way in which they combined devotion to duty with the greatest scepticism as regards the men who held their lives in their hands, and apparently complete indifference to the aims they were supposed to be fighting for — surely a very remarkable phenomenon. I cannot agree with his assertion that criticism of the Higher Command

plays a subordinate part in the English war books: it is a persistently recurring motif in almost all of them.

Sometimes the author generalizes a little rashly, as when he ascribes to the young men of England "ein Leben dessen Inhalt College und Sport sind". Surely, Dr. Weyand must know that that only applies to a small percentage of them. And he misunderstands H. G. Wells when he interprets as "wollüstiges Geniessen des Totes" the following passage:

I had stood it all admirably. I didn't feel a bit shaken. I was as tough as anything. I'd seen death and killing, and it was all just hockey.

The book would have gained in interest if the author had treated his war novels chronologically and used them to illustrate the gradual change in the English attitude towards the war, beginning with MacGill's *The Red Horizon* (to illustrate the first enthusiasm of the civilian turned soldier) and Ian Hay's and "Sapper's" stories (to illustrate the attempt to treat the war as "jolly"), and then going on to the disillusion which began to set in after the Somme, but which, curiously enough, hardly found its way into literature till long after the Armistice (except in one or two books like A. P. Herbert's *The Secret Battle*). None of these authors is included in Dr. Weyand's list, which however is otherwise well selected.

Copenhagen.

C. A. BODELSEN.

The Tongues of Men. By J. R. FIRTH. 160 pp. London: Watts & Co. 1937. 2s. 6d. net.

The author of this book who is well known to all students of phonetics at London University College, has no patience with the ordinary grammar man. He pleads very courageously and convincingly for a new way of approaching language, which, for him, is not mere grammar but a social reality of enormous dimensions. His book — which has come out in the "Changing World Library" — is an eye-opener for the average educated reader not yet familiar with the difficulties of the language problem and it is also intended as an eye-opener for the conservative linguist walking about in the world of words with unseeing eyes. It opens with a fascinating chapter on what "the great peoples who shaped our civilization have thought about utterance and writing, speech and language", passing in review the various myths about speech and writing among the Egyptians, the Chinese, the Hindoos, the Greeks, the Jews, and in Christendom where one of the greatest marvels was achieved, the linguistic universality of Latin, because "the Word was One" — until after many ups and downs we at last come to our Machine Age which has learnt to discover the mechanistic aspects of language, the *Behaviour of Speech*. This brings us at once to the essential distinction made by modern philology, *Speech and Language*. "Speech is personal and social activity interacting with other forces in a situation. It is dynamic. Language is the whole systematic background of grammar, dictionary and usage ...

It is more or less static ..." (17). So far language has been the chief object of study for the philologists at a time when it had become completely divorced from speech. But ever since the War mankind has moved in a rapidly "Changing World" and this has left its mark on the relation between speech and language. "Talking to the Images" — an expression full of import chosen by Mr. Firth to denote "reading" — has been revolutionized by the B.B.C. A new rhetoric is in the making, talk is coming into its own. One might almost say that the study of speech is one science, that of language another.

And as the present age may claim an equal mastery both of the language science and of the speech science, one might sum up the achievements of the former by a reference to what philology has done within the last three hundred years first by tackling with its reasoning power the "multiplication of Babel" — by writing the grammars of all accessible languages — then by attempting a debabelization. For the attempts of certain thinkers in the 17th and 18th centuries — Wilkins, Urquhart and many more — to write a "Universal Language" all move towards the same aim, creating a common language for civilization, a World Language, at one time on the way to realisation in Esperanto. Mr. Firth has enlightening pages on the problem of World Language to-day. According to him English is the only hope for drowning the hum of present day Babel. It will do its best to safeguard the position of European civilization as the dominant world civilization. Mr. Firth is a realist and he lays down the iron law: World Powers Make World Languages. The Roman Empire made Latin, the British Empire has made English.

As we have just been touching on the rational side of language we may as well bring in now what Mr. Firth has to say about logic and language. He is, like the reviewer, impressed by the sweeping changes in the study of logic effected by the so-called Viennese school and in particular by Carnap, who has made the trenchant statement that there is no such thing as a philosophy of any particular science. One could only speak of the "syntactical analysis of the language of that science". And so far the language of the only science to bear analysis was the "physical language" which was "the basic language of all science ... comprehending the contents of all other scientific languages". It is, in other words, the only language free from "nonsense"¹. Applied to philology this would mean that the first thing for us to do was the creation of a technical language for the true description of lingual phenomena, as fit and explicit as the "physical language". Only then an instrument would have been placed into our hands enabling us to think about language scientifically. The reviewer may be allowed to add that Carnap in his *Logical Syntax of Language* distinguishes between Language I and Language II and he makes it clear that I and II are not languages at all in the accepted sense of the term. They are only artificially constructed symbolic languages — i.e. they use symbols such as numerals — able to express formal rules only and nothing else. A card-index with signs such as might be used in a lending library is just as much a language, for Carnap. Of course we are comforted by the fact that there are natural word languages but of an "unsystematic and logically

¹ in the sense of Firth, which means nonsense sense.

imperfect structure" so complicated that the statement of their formal rules of formation etc. was not feasible. They must be a hopeless case for the logician, and as to "conversational languages" they must lie, for the logician, beyond the farthest border of all hopelessness. So it seems to the reviewer that this logic is an almost uncanny science, it leads us down to the unavoidable and appalling conclusion that thinking in any word language — and how else can we poor mortals think? — is like walking through an unending avenue of illusions full of traps². Therefore the conclusion drawn by the linguist would be that for a long time yet this logic cannot be of any practical help to him.

Now let us turn to the claims of our modern Speech Science. For Mr. Firth, speech is a social action in "living space" and he desires speech to be handled realistically, not by means of the old unworkable apparatus of conventional grammar. To show how this might be done we will dwell on two of his original conceptions, Set and Situation.

"Set"! "Every time you open your mouth you show the sort of man you are." You speak from your "set". Hence judging of a man's speech we must study his "set", i.e. the sequence of "living spaces" with their corresponding speech patterns — mostly of group origin — he has gone through from childhood to adult life. Each living space — and a man's school is only one of them — forces a language behaviour on him as he grows. At the end of his apprenticeship he is a repository of a variety of speech behaviour patterns. All these forces taken together make up his set, which, however, is not a perfect harmony, because sub-sets will at certain hours strive against his social habit for utterance.

Now Bertrand Russell speaks of the private space each of us carries about with him. Situations arise by an individual coming across another individual. This means that two private spaces touch each other or intersect or, under more favourable circumstances, become one common space. Similarly, Mr. Firth sees his individual bringing his set to a situation, either tuning it to it or disturbing it. Imagine an Oxford man with his wide range set placed against the small range set of a working man. But imagine, on the other hand, the beautiful smoothness when one set brought against another happens to be identical with it for long stretches, when dialogue bits fit in as perfectly as if they were being supplied like parts of a song everybody knows. Conversation then goes ahead like the performance of a ritual. Every side "is saying the right thing".

Here we are in the midst of the speech behaviour of human nature of which a general picture might be drawn. Mr. Firth gives hints how this might be done by a reference to Pareto's scheme of Instincts, "Residues", and "Verbal Derivations", which are those manifestations in the lingual field where the instincts prevail over reason.

And now as to Situation! To illustrate the ramifications of the "context of situation" Mr. Firth has chosen the truly situational expression "Say When"! Let the reader grasp the meaning of these two words. Not "meaning" according to an antiquated semasiology but that meaning which is "a complex of relations of various kinds between the component

² I have stated elsewhere what this conclusion might mean for mankind. ("Sparkenbroke und die Platonische Idee in England", *Tatwelt*, Dessau, 1937, December issue.)

parts of a context of situation". (126). "Say When" implies a situation well known to anybody — yet we must limit our statement at once by adding "in the Anglosaxon world". For "Sagen Sie, wann Sie wünschen, dass ich aufhören soll", connotes a situation with a different background, with German people, German things and a German "roundabout", different above all because of the sets that have been brought along by the speakers with their particular speech behaviour — which will affect "meaning", at all events, apart from national differences. This context of situation is not to be taken as a fixity but as a patterned process. Events drop in and are taken up into the pattern weaving. Here Mr. Firth falls back on an idea first uttered in his booklet on *Speech* (Sixpenny Library, Benn and Co.) that, given a situation pattern at a certain moment, it is required of the actor who happens to be in it to make a certain noise, the right noise. It seems almost insulting our social dignity to speak of words uttered at such a moment as a predetermined noise. But what else could human speech in the complexity of communal and group routine be than a half consciously, almost mechanically produced noise on the same level with guiding signs and signals?

If critics feel inclined to call all this a sociology of language the term is acceptable if taken in its widest sense. Such a study would open new vistas and it would always see language in closest touch with life. "And why not careful sociological studies of the lie, of concealment, deception, and fraud, as well as of all forms of linguistic propriety?" (129.)

This book, which has the breath of life, is programmatic. And if there is one wish the reviewer would like to express it is this, that the author would in the near future give us specimens of such sociological studies.

Zürich.

BERNHARD FEHR †.

Current Literature: 1937

I. Fiction, Drama and Poetry

Save in the field of fiction, the year 1937 has produced little original creative literature that is at all remarkable. The publishers' lists had not much to offer in the way of new poetry or drama, but there have been an unusually large number of good and readable novels which deserve attention. As is always the case, they constitute an infinitesimal proportion of the works actually published, and not every one of them, perhaps, will survive to interest posterity, but a year which has given us new works by such well-known authors as H. G. Wells, Virginia Woolf, Rose Macaulay, Hugh Walpole, A. J. Cronin and Francis Brett Young, together with a first novel by Edith Sitwell, cannot be called dead.

By far the best seller of the year has been Cronin's *The Citadel* (Gollancz, 8/6), a work dealing with the exploitation of the public by the medical profession, which the author depicts for the most part as a

conservative body, loth to adopt new ideas and bent mainly upon maintaining its own prestige rather than on the curing of disease or the alleviation of suffering. The story is that of a young and ambitious doctor, Andrew Manson by name, highly intelligent and conscientious, who regards his profession as a sacred calling. He starts his career as an ill-paid assistant to a general practitioner in a Welsh mining village, becomes successively medical officer to an insurance society and chief adviser to a government research department, but in all three positions he finds restrictions, prejudice and opposition which prevent him from carrying out his duties as he would wish. Then he gives up the philanthropic idea and becomes a "successful" West End consultant, drawing very large fees; but finally he sees the falsity of his position and finds salvation for his soul and his moral integrity in taking a small country practice in conjunction with two friends. The book is well written. The story moves along quickly and there is some excellent character-portrayal, while the early pictures of life in the mining districts of Wales are vivid and convincing enough. The later descriptions of the fashionable circles of the London *nouveaux riches*, though, strike one as more conventional and artificial. Quite a number of figures crowd these pages, and many show considerable psychological insight on the part of the author — as, for instance, the invalid Dr. Page, Christine, the wife of Manson, and, of course, Andrew Manson himself — though again one cannot but feel that some (Page's vulgar and uncultured wife, for example) are less happily conceived. The story is well constructed and skilfully worked out, but the satire on the abuses in the medical profession seems unduly exaggerated. One cannot escape the impression now and again that it is another of those novels written to show that the whole of present-day civilisation and society, in all their aspects, is corrupt to the core, and nothing short of a revolution will effect a change. I feel doubtful whether this novel can be placed on the same level as Cronin's earlier works, *The Stars Look Down* and *Hatter's Castle*. There is some fine writing in it, and the death of Manson's young wife is told as only a true artist could tell it. But the excellence of the book lies in individual episodes rather than in the work as a whole.

Opinion upon Virginia Woolf's *The Years* (Hogarth Press, 8/6) is likely to be divided. Those who already count themselves amongst the devotees of this writer will probably appreciate it, though they may find its length a trifle wearisome; but amongst those who are not yet disciples it is not likely to make many converts. There is no plot, in the generally accepted sense of the word. The theme is the passing of the last fifty years as it is reflected in the daily lives of a small group of individuals whom we meet first of all in 1880, whose subsequent destinies carry them apart, and who come together again (or at least, those of them who are still living do) in the early thirties of the present century. The story is not continuous; there are gaps in its progress which it is not always easy to fill up from the narrative that follows; but in a book such as this that is no serious obstacle or objection, for the sequence of events is only of secondary importance. The author's aim seems to have been two-fold: first to illuminate subtle complexities of character in the individual, and secondly to pierce beyond the superficialities of the social scene to the conscious and subconscious motives which dominate a social class, an age or a nation, and differentiate one period of history from another. And it

is all done with a good deal of cynicism and humour. Mrs Woolf fully appreciates the heroic qualities in human character and does not seek to belittle them, but she is also aware of much that is trivial, selfish and hypocritical. Some of her portraits — like that of the much-respected Colonel Pargiter, who secretly keeps a mistress and waits impatiently for his invalid wife to die — may appear unnecessarily brutal and offend a reader's susceptibilities; but for all that, they are well drawn. There is no other author quite like Mrs Woolf writing today. She is an artist about whom one cannot be luke-warm. We either like her or we do not; and if we do not, we cannot acquire the taste by a reading of one or two works. The only way is to read and re-read, trying to feel and to understand, until we get to appreciate. That is the best course to adopt with the present book.

Francis Brett Young's *They Seek a Country* (Heinmann, 8/6) starts well but proves a little disappointing, partly, I think, because it is too long, so that the story tends to drag just when the reader feels he would like to see events moving, and partly, too, because of the high standard set by his previous novel, *Far Forest*. It is the story of a certain John Oakley, a Worcestershire youth who, at the beginning of the last century, was sentenced to transportation for poaching after he had been deprived of his living by the Enclosures Act; but the convict ship was caught in a storm just off the Cape, and John was one of the few survivors. After a number of adventures in South Africa he marries and settles there, and the book closes with the birth of his first child. The first part of the work, with its description of the lot of the agricultural labourer and the conditions on the convict ships in the thirties of the nineteenth century, is grimly realistic; in the second part there is an atmosphere of romance and adventure; but always at the centre of the picture is human character and personality. Though the story ends happily it is not lacking in the elements of tragedy; but mere pathos or sentimentality Mr Brett Young is always careful to avoid. The dignity, the restraint and the well-disciplined style so characteristic of this author are again in evidence. That sense of compactness and finish which one felt about the plot of *Far Forest* is not so noticeable here, perhaps because of the wide sweep of the story; but the author's skill in character-portrayal is no whit diminished; and it may be added that he has gone to great pains to make his historical background as true and accurate as possible. The book certainly deserves a place amongst the half-dozen best novels of the year, though many readers will probably wish they had been given a little more of Worcestershire and less of South Africa.

With *Star-Begotten* (Chatto & Windus, 6/—) H. G. Wells takes us once more into some of his favourite philosophico-biological speculations on the superman of the future, indulging by the way in denunciations of the futility and aimlessness of modern "democracy" and the insufficiency of most present-day Utopias. It is the story of how three men — a young Scottish intellectual, a Harley Street specialist and a professor of psychology — became obsessed with the idea that the planet of Mars is inhabited by a race of beings morally, spiritually and intellectually superior to mankind, and that they can, by means of cosmic rays which they have discovered, impose something of their own character upon our unborn children. Research leads these three students to formulate the theory that the

outstanding personalities of history — the Buddha, Jesus, Mahomet and their like — were “star-begotten” in this way, and that with the advance of time the human race will fall more and more under the Martian influence. The book, almost inevitably, ends with our young intellectual surrendering his “hole-and-corner” view of history and being proclaimed by his wife one of the “star-begotten” beings of our own age. The work is quite short and seemingly fantastic, but at bottom it is quite serious, and gives plenty of material for rumination. Though different in style from such a novel as *Tono Bungay*, a continuity of thought from the earlier work is observable; and of course, it is also to be connected with some of Mr Wells’ recent utterances on the subjects of history-teaching and democratic government.

The same author’s *Brynhild* (Methuen, 7/6) is of a different type, and tells the story of how a popular novelist “engineers” his rise to fame, while his wife, from whom he has gradually been drifting apart, regains his affection by bearing him a son. Before publication it was announced as a novel in Mr. Wells’ earlier style, but it compares very unfavourably with *Kipps* and *The History of Mr Polly*. The plot is very slender; what there is of it lags in a most annoying way, while the three chief characters (Palace, his wife, and his agent Cloote) never strike us as very convincing. Altogether it is a disappointing book, though individual episodes are well written.

To the making of Sir Hugh Walpole’s *John Cornelius* (Macmillan, 8/6) there must have gone a great deal of time and thought, for the author avers that he has taken four years in writing it. It is, however, scarcely a characteristic novel and falls rather below Walpole’s best work. In point of fact it is a biography, though it is written in the form of fiction, and in a foreword Sir Hugh tells us that he will be quite content if it is taken as such. But even if we did not know that it was founded on fact it would be difficult to regard it as pure invention, for it has this in common with all the best fiction: that it seems amazingly real. Cornelius died in 1921, and since then one biography of him has appeared as well as one critical work. Sir Hugh Walpole is the last of his most intimate friends, and it is well that he should give the world this monument to an ill-starred genius, for it probably re-creates the real Cornelius better than any more formal “life” or “portrait” could do. From the first, says Walpole, he was a frustrated human being, though as one reads the book one feels that the cause of the frustration lay in himself rather than in society. Something of an ugly duckling from birth, he had an unhappy time at school, endured hardships and disappointments in his attempts to make a name as a literary figure, was most unfortunate in his marriage, suffered spiritually and temperamentally during the war, and then, when he had finally gained a reputation, died disappointed that it was by a volume of fairy tales instead of something more serious. He always had a feeling of loneliness, even amongst his friends, and I think Sir Hugh has given us the key to it when he writes, “He was the greatest egoist I have ever known, and the least exasperating.” There are a number of really well drawn characters in these pages, especially Cornelius’ mother and the two faithful friends Charlie and Anne. The style, as always with this writer, is familiar, confidential, leisurely, but about the story itself there is a certain lack of cohesion and an absence of lights and shades. It is built not so much around a plot as a series of episodes. This, no doubt, is inseparable from

the subject, but in a novel it must be accounted a shortcoming.

The city clerk of poetic soul, depressed by the hum-drum life of the office and married to a very ordinary, unimaginative wife, has time and again provided a theme for modern writers of fiction. But not many of them have treated it so felicitously as does Ulric Nisbet in *Spread No Wings* (The Fortune Press, 7/6). To his neighbours in the respectable suburb of Slapton, Alfred Biggs was just an ordinary clerk, his wife a charming and sociable woman as well as an ideal housewife. But after a few years of married life each had come to realise that the union had been a mistake. Alfred's interests were aesthetic, his wife Effie's quite materialist; he desired to create a masterpiece of literature, she craved for social success and position. Finally each achieves freedom and the heart's desire, Biggs through a Platonic friendship with the middle-aged Miss Empson, Effie by an illicit association with the vulgarly rich perfume-manufacturer, Alphonse Carl. The story is told simply and without any kind of exaggeration. There is neither sentimentality nor melodrama in it, while the main characters are essentially natural in conception. Though Mr Nisbet is already well known for his short stories and for a study of Shakespeare's sonnets, this is his first novel, and it is a most promising one. There are no conventional villains and heroes, no censure on anyone, no moralising, no axe-grinding. Effie is drawn with as much understanding and sympathy as her husband. Perhaps we even believe in her more than we do in Alfred, because in this life the Effies are the more common. Mr Nisbet displays a wealth of psychological insight without offending us by flaunting it in our faces. That is one reason why his book is so attractive.

One would scarcely expect an ordinary novel from Edith Sitwell, and *I Live Under a Black Sun* (Gollancz, 8/6) is certainly not of the ordinary type. Founded upon the story of Swift, Stella and Vanessa, it is indirectly a portrait of modern civilisation, for the tangled lives of these three people are taken from their eighteenth-century background and put into a modern setting. The tragedy of Swift, torn between rival loyalties, loving yet unwilling to hand on to posterity the curse which he feels has been laid upon him by the "black sun" under which he is condemned to live, is universal in its application: it is symbolic of the tragedy of the world today. Miss Sitwell draws her figures convincingly and impressively. With her command of language, her understanding of human-nature and her ability to universalise a story of private conflict and suffering, she shows herself still the poet, despite the fact that she is writing in the prose medium. Wit and satire, humour and compassion, mingle with the conflict of emotions to produce a work of real tragic dignity; and it is the more poignant in that the tragedy of the central figures is reflected in the lives of the lesser beings amongst whom they move. Many of the minor episodes seem extraneous to the main story, but they have a definite value in suggesting and emphasising the universality of the theme and widening the scope of the picture.

Rose Macaulay has produced another clever and entertaining book in *I Would Be Private* (Collins, 7/6), the story of the adventures on a South American island of an ex-London policeman who was enabled to leave the force and go on a cruising holiday as the result of his wife's giving birth to quintuplets which, turned to financial account, soon made

him a wealthy man. The story is a little fantastic (though not altogether impossible) while there is a certain amount of satire upon modern life and social tendencies. There is, too, excellent characterisation. Events move quickly and interest never flags; but of course, the work is altogether less serious than those more austere writings dealt with above. That, however, does not make it any the less worth reading. It is a good example of modern humour in the hands of a really capable novelist.

In *The South Wind of Love* and *The East Wind of Love* (Rich & Cowan, 10/6 each) Compton Mackenzie gives us the first two of a quartet of novels on different aspects of a common theme, both well written, though both over-long, while Marjorie Booth writes a clever and amusing commentary on the surprises of life in *Monday's a Long Day* (Duckworth, 7/6). A city office being closed one Monday, all the employees set out to enjoy themselves in their own way, but in every case chance (or mis-chance) steps in and takes a hand. The book will provide plenty of entertainment for those who are in the mood for lighter reading.

The short story has been less in evidence this year than for some time previously. Nevertheless a few good collections have appeared. *Nine-penny Flute* by A. E. Coppard (Macmillan, 7/6) is a collection of twenty-one tales of varied character by one who has long been recognised as a master of his craft. Some are frankly humorous, others more serious; some depend upon ingenuity of plot-construction, some upon oddities of character, others upon atmosphere. Mr Coppard's *forte*, perhaps, lies in the presentation of reminiscences by the semi-literate, a gift which he shares with W. W. Jacobs. A gentle and genial humour pervades these writings, and the author is never at a loss for the right word or phrase.

The Faber Book of Modern Stories, edited by Elizabeth Bowen (Faber & Faber, 7/6) also contains some excellent work. Like most of these Faber "modern" books, it does not push the limits of its period too far back, and a most catholic selection of stories has been given, for not only are such well-known writers as Walter de la Mare, E. M. Forster, Aldous Huxley, James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, W. Somerset Maugham and Osbert Sitwell represented, but the reader will find himself introduced also to a number of authors with whom he is less familiar. All the pieces included (and there are twenty-six of them) are notable for their high literary quality, while the volume as a whole serves as an excellent index to the temper and the main tendencies of present-day fiction. It should be mentioned that it is prefaced by a very suggestive essay on the modern short-story by Elizabeth Bowen.

Then there is also *Q's Mystery Stories* (Dent, 7/6), a new collection of old favourites, and *The Editor Regrets* (Michael Joseph, 7/6), an assemblage of stories, some of them of considerable merit, which failed to find favour when submitted to magazine editors. The volume has been compiled by George Joseph.

The only essays of any real merit to be produced are those in the volume *Daylight and Champaign*, by G. M. Young (Jonathan Cape, 8/6), and most of these are excursions into literary criticism or philosophy. Mr Young seeks to justify the Victorian age, in its chief aspects, against its modern detractors. Many, no doubt, will disagree strongly with his views — as, for instance, that the late nineteenth-century was more universally cultured than the present generation. But that does not affect the literary

quality of the essays, which are written in a prose as carefully disciplined and as clear as that of Matthew Arnold.

The Living Torch (Macmillan, 12/6), a collection of miscellaneous writings by A.E. which have not previously appeared in book form, may also be mentioned here. More and more this Irish mystic is coming to be appreciated as one of the foremost writers of the early twentieth century, and in this volume we get work of very real worth, pregnant with thought and feeling, which gives us revealing glimpses into the author's mind. He writes of his friends, his political ideals, his religious convictions and his literary creed with an earnestness and sincerity which both charm and interest. His judgements of writers and popular philosophies are as penetrating as they are unorthodox, while the most seemingly casual of his aphorisms are full of wisdom and give food for a good deal of thought. In one of his essays he makes a plea for conciseness of expression, urging that the more vital a writer's subject is the more it has to gain from a brief and even epigrammatic style. A.E. himself is certainly a testimony to that; but his manner of writing is not for everyone. It is essentially a reflection of his own character and personality — which, by the way, are treated at some length in a most interesting introductory sketch by the editor of the volume, Mr Monk Gibbon. No-one who is really interested in modern thought and literature should fail to read this book: it is one of the really great books of the year.

After spasmodic outbursts from the poets of the Left during the last few years, which has earned for at least one of them — W. H. Auden — the King's Medal, verse has shewn singularly few signs of flourishing. Even Mr Auden himself has been less vocal than usual and has only produced a brief but fiery piece on the Spanish conflict entitled *Spain* (Faber & Faber, 1/—). The other well-known poets of the Left have remained silent. The year, however, has not been entirely devoid of achievement. Edmund Blunden's new collection of verses, *An Elegy and Other Poems* (Cobden-Sanderson, 6/—) takes its title from an elegy on the death of the late King George V, with which the volume opens. But on the whole the "other poems" are of a higher quality than this title-piece. Perhaps with the passing of the years (for he can no longer be classed with the younger generation of poets) Mr. Blunden's outlook upon life and the world has become a little more thoughtful and serious, his style more terse and decisive; but in all its essentials it is still the style of his earlier verses, characterised by imagination, ease of expression, grace and charm. Not every one of these verses is memorable, but there is enough in the volume to put it amongst the more important verse publications of the year.

In a small volume *A Further Range* (Jonathan Cape, 5/—) the American poet Robert Frost prints fifty new poems, much like his earlier work in general character. Serious in purport, they are marked by a certain cynical wit which has an appearance of nonchalant jocosity, but actually masks a sombre view of life; and the author's revision of certain well-known epigrams, as, for example, in the line,

To err is human, not to, animal

marks him out as a satirist of a typically modern type. But this sort of

thing can very easily be overdone, and unfortunately, one feels, Mr Frost does tend to overdo it. His conceits, his deliberately mundane imagery and his rather self-conscious employment of concrete diction tend to become irritating and monotonous. But behind them all there is a sense of urgency and a sensitiveness to suffering, especially that which is mental or spiritual. With this volume Mr Frost sustains his previous reputation, but does not add to it.

More important than the new poetry of the year are a number of outstanding "Collected Editions" that have appeared. *The Complete Works of Isaac Rosenberg* (Chatto & Windus, 12/6) is a monument to a young writer who, had he been spared by the war, might conceivably have become one of England's foremost poets. He was of the same generation as Rupert Brooke and the later Georgians, but he had little in common with them. He seems never to have been youthful, as they were. All his verses are suffused with a sense of sadness and spiritual pain, as though he had read the irony of life; and the sense of imminent death is never far from his mind. With the imagination and feeling of his race, he displays a richness of imagery and a certain mysticism that sometimes approaches to obscurity; yet in spite of occasional infelicities of style, in spite, too, of what seem, now and then, difficulties of diction and expression, there is an undoubted power in his poetry. Some of the earlier pieces are plainly imitations of contemporary writers, or at least are written in the common idiom and form of the time; but for the most part Rosenberg is a highly individual author. His poems on the war are frankly realistic; but he was never really a war poet in the sense that Wilfred Owen or Siegfried Sassoon was. He was first and foremost a Jew, cherishing the traditions of his race, and some of his most impressive and most ambitious poems deal with Hebrew legend and history. The drama *Moses*, incidentally, contains dramatic blank verse of a remarkably high quality, perhaps some of the best that had appeared in English for many years. The present volume is, in every sense of the word, complete. It contains all Rosenberg's available poems, letters and prose papers, as well as a number of his drawings and paintings. His genius was by no means one-sided, and it is fortunate that, with the publication of this book, his work is assured of permanency.

The third volume of *The Collected Poems of John Drinkwater* (Sidgwick & Jackson, 10/6) should have appeared earlier, soon after the first two, but the publication was interrupted by the poet's death. It is now ushered into the world with a foreword by Lascelles Abercrombie. Most of the pieces in it are quite short and many have remained hitherto uncollected. All are characterised by a strong lyrical note, that fine and delicate feeling for language which one has always associated with the writings of Drinkwater, and a sensitiveness to beauty in the common-place things of life. In many respects he is not a modern poet, for in spirit he stands far removed from the lyrical writers of the present age. He is rather a belated Georgian, mellowed a little by his experience of the post-war years. The lyric poets of the seventeenth century have left an unmistakable mark on his verse, while imagination is the essence of all that is best in his work. In poem after poem we meet it; but it is an imaginative quality that is grounded in a living faith in the reality of spiritual and eternal values. Drinkwater preaches a religion of fortitude, of devotion to conscience, truth and right,

and he is firmly convinced of the divine qualities in human nature which make even the ordinary man a potential hero. "We worship what we are", he writes in one of his poems; that was the foundation of his own faith.

In *The Poems of Emily Dickinson*, edited by Martha Dickinson and Alfred Leete Hampson (Jonathan Cape, 12/6) we at last have, under one cover, the collected verses of an American poetess whose merits have come increasingly to be recognised of late years; and there is also Laurence Housman's *Collected Poems* (Sidgwick & Jackson, 10/6), which brings together the most memorable of his verses from the nineties of the last century up to the present day, and reveals the author in all his moods. The range of his work is wide and varied, but the prevailing spirit is one of mysticism, a legacy of the Pre-Raphaelite school, while a deep consciousness of the reality and potency of love is stamped upon all his verses. Mr Housman writes with a grace which is of a by-gone generation. That, perhaps, is why his poetry strikes one as being very "un-modern" and a little naïve at times; but there is no doubt that it is poetry.

The inclusion of *The Poems of Francis Thompson* in The Oxford Standard Authors (Oxford University Press, 3/6) adds another writer of distinction to that series. Hitherto the average student's acquaintance with Francis Thompson has been through anthologies. Everyone knows *The Hound of Heaven* and the posthumously published stanzas *In No Strange Land*; but here we have the first cheap and complete edition of his works. Thompson was another mystic, yet a mystic who had many affinities with the Romantic movement. He had a Keats-like passion for beauty and the romantic's sense of the divine in the simple and common-place. Sometimes he reminds us of Christopher Smart's *Song to David*, while now and again we detect an echo of Coleridge. He strikes a note of warmth, faith, hope and joy in an age when too many poets tended in the opposite direction. Blemishes in his work, of course, there are, but taken as a whole it has not many bad ones. The student who has read Thompson in selections will not find a great deal to disappoint him in the collected poems.

Poems by Havelock Ellis (Richards, 5/—) contains twenty-six sonnets, all written before 1885, and in his preface the author tells us that "he views them as archaeological specimens, interesting apart from any technical quality or the absence of it, the record of personal experiences in the evolution of an individual person's spirit". Yet they bear few marks of immaturity. Written either in the Petrarchan or Miltonic form, they have a strength and a dignity all their own, for they were composed when fluency, decorum and coherence were not considered signs of inferior genius. Since those days Mr Ellis has forsaken verse for the prose medium, but there is enough in these sonnets to show that he had in him all the makings of a true poet; and their condemnation of the materialism of the late Victorian period is not altogether irrelevant today.

Lord Gorrell, well-known in so many other fields of letters, has always been a modest and retiring poet who has refused to thrust himself upon the public. It is, consequently, something of a surprise to find that he has written so much verse as is contained in his *Poems, 1904-1936* (Murray, 10/6). Characterised by restraint, pensiveness and genuine feeling, all these verses strike a deeply personal note. Of the shorter lyrics those dealing with the war are perhaps the least felicitous; but some of the longer pieces show a mastery of blank verse equalled by few poets who

are writing today. Lord Gorrell is another of those authors upon whom time has left its mark, for a note of sadness, quite absent from the earlier pieces, can be seen in his later verses, and in the piece *Aftermath* one even detects a satire, in the style of T. S. Eliot, on the inanity of modern life. Yet at heart Lord Gorrell is an optimist, convinced that

With God, at last, all things are reconciled.

Amongst anthologies may be mentioned first of all *The Year's Poetry, 1937* (John Lane, 5/—), a selection from the verse of the year which has appeared in magazines and periodicals. A great many of these pieces are of a good average level, but only a few are really memorable. There is rather more promising work in a small volume *Neo-Georgian Poetry, 1936-1937* (Richards, 3/6), a miscellany of fifty-three poems by living writers, many of whom are already well-known to the public. Thirteen of the pieces appeared during 1936 in various volumes of their authors' works; the others had not previously been collected. And there is also an interesting assemblage of popular verse and songs of the last century in *Victorian Street Ballads* (Country Life Publishing Co., 7/6). As literature their merits are very small, if not non-existent, but they throw a certain light upon the life and tastes of the man in the street in Victorian England.

There has been an even greater dearth of drama than of new verse, the theatres relying for the main part upon last year's successes or revivals of earlier plays. W. H. Auden and Christopher Isherwood's *The Ascent of F. 6* (Faber & Faber, 1936. 6/—) appeared too late for mention in the last survey. Those who have read the same authors' *The Dog Beneath the Skin* will know what kind of a play to expect, and they will not be disappointed, for the methods employed in the two pieces are essentially the same — a rather fantastic story, dramatised in the impressionistic manner, yet having a serious satirical application to modern problems and social conditions. A party of young Englishmen, urged on and subsidised by vested interests which wish to make political and commercial capital out of their venture, make a gallant attempt to climb to the top of a Tibetan mountain reputed by native tradition to be haunted. They lose their lives, and their bodies are later discovered by the rival expedition of another country. So the race to achieve the ascent of F. 6. is ended. Nothing is gained, and a number of clever scientists and explorers are lost to the world. The plot, thus, is of the flimsiest, and the characters are portrayed only in broad outline, for the concern of the authors is not with the subtleties of individual personality, but with questions of wider import, which affect a whole community or an entire civilisation. The play is symbolic, an indictment of certain trends in modern life; that is quite clear even from a first reading, but it is not so clear what specific evils, apart from the general ones of corruption, vested interests and despondent aimlessness the authors are denouncing. Is it the race for armaments? Is it the exploitation of human brains and courage by the capitalist for purely private and selfish ends? Is it political jobbery and opportunism? From hints in the play itself it might be any or all of these. But whatever the precise significance, it is certainly a play which leaves us thinking and wondering. Sandwiched between the scenes which treat of the progress

and ultimate failure of the expedition are pictures of Mr and Mrs A, ordinary citizens who are conscious of the monotony and drabness of the daily round of their lives, yet forced unwillingly to accept it and afraid to launch out into new fields because of the uncertainty which lies ahead. In these circumstances they fall easy victims to the artificial excitement engendered by the newspaper and broadcast accounts of the attempt on F. 6., and before they realise it are worked up to a mechanical and unthinking patriotic fervour which can be described as nothing but nauseating and degrading. They have allowed themselves to be duped and drawn into the racket because they find it pleasanter to live on illusions than in the light of reality; because, lacking the courage (or the ability) to be glorious themselves, they seek their thrill through the hypnotic influence of the supposed glory of others. And as if to emphasise this aspect of the theme, the authors have borrowed the metres of well-known English poets, sometimes their very lines, and parodied them for a baser and less dignified purpose. Cynical as this play is in tone, we are left with an impression, not of the greatness but of the smallness of man, not of the nobility but the pettiness of life.

In *Time and the Conways* and *I Have Been Here Before* (Heinemann, 3/6 each)¹ J. B. Priestley turns philosopher as well as dramatist. The former piece, the setting of which is in a middle-class English family immediately after the war and again at the present day, develops the thesis that human beings are mere pawns in the hands of Time, a demon who has scant respect for our dreams and ambitions. "Remember what we once were and what we thought we'd be", comments one of the characters; "and now this. And it's all we have; it's us. Every step we've taken, every tick of the clock, making everything worse. If this is all life is, what's the use? Better to die before you find it out, before Time gets to work on you. ... There's a great devil in the universe, and we call it Time." This is the philosophy of a disillusioned and pessimistic generation; but it is not the last word, for quickly comes the reply, "What we *really* are is the whole stretch of ourselves, all our time, and when we come to the end of this life, all these selves, all our time, will be *us*, the real you, the real me. And then perhaps we'll find ourselves in another time, which is only a kind of dream". It is this last point of view which is taken up in *I Have Been Here Before*, where all the principal figures experience an uncanny sense of having previously lived through the very scenes which they are at the moment enacting, and Dr Görtler, the expatriated professor of psychology, can foretell exactly what is going to happen from recollections of his earlier acquaintance with them. Of the two this latter strikes one as the better play. Character, situation and dialogue all contribute to make it a good acting-piece.

The biographical play continues to flourish. Elsie T. Schauffler's *Parnell*, revised for the English stage by Margaret Rawlings (Gollancz, 3/6) dramatises the story of the famous Irish patriot's association with Mrs O'Shea and the consequent scandal which it brought about, resulting in the ruin of Parnell's political career and the defeat of the Irish Home Rule Bill. Though not historically correct in every detail, it is a

¹ Since published together in one volume under the title *Two Time Plays* (Heinemann, 8/6. 1938.)

powerful play, well written and full of tense situations. Parnell himself stands out as an heroic figure — even more heroic in his defeat than in his temporary triumph — and the scene in which Mrs O'Shea interviews Gladstone in an attempt to try and heal the breach between the Liberals and the Irish Party contains some masterly strokes of dramatic subtlety. Mr Gladstone, incidentally, does not emerge in too good a light from this encounter, a fact which has called forth a good deal of criticism and has led at least one other writer to pen a drama setting forth a very different picture:² but details of that must be left for the survey of plays of 1938.

Palace Scenes, by Laurence Housman (Jonathan Cape, 5/—) is to be regarded as a supplement and appendix to the same author's *Victoria Regina*, published as long ago as 1934 but only recently licensed for presentation on the stage.³ In this volume we have a collection of scenes, centring around twelve minor episodes in the life of Queen Victoria, from the early years of her reign up to the time of her death. Each one, as the author remarks in his preface, has in it the germ of history. We get glimpses of well-known British statesmen, such as Gladstone, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Roseberry and Lord Melbourne, as well as of the Prince-Consort, but always the central figure is the Queen, from youth to age a woman of strong personality, fixed and determined in her opinions, yet in many respects very human. These scenes make interesting reading, but they can scarcely be regarded as plays.

W. B. Yeats has published a volume of *Nine One-Act Plays* (Macmillan, 3/6), all of which have appeared in print before, but not in a single collection. *The Best One-Act Plays of 1936*, edited by J. W. Marriot (Harrap, 7/6) contains pieces by such authors as Noel Coward, Harold Brighouse, H. F. Rubenstein and Laurence Housman, as well as by several less-known writers, while finally there is also *Modern Plays* (Dent, Everyman Library, 2/—), consisting of *Milestones*, by Arnold Bennett and Edward Knoblock, *The Dover Road*, by A. A. Milne, *Hay Fever*, by Noel Coward, *Journey's End*, by R. C. Sheriff, and *For Services Rendered*, by W. Somerset Maugham — a very welcome addition to an excellent series of books.

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² *Mr. Gladstone*, by Hugh Ross Williamson (Constable, 1938, 2/6). The play has been refused a licence owing to an objection on the part of the Royal Family to the impersonation of Queen Victoria upon the stage.

³ The ban was lifted during the brief reign of King Edward VIII.

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Observations on Hume's Theory of Taste

I

David Hume's essay 'Of the Standard of Taste' has always been recognized as an important document. From the time of its publication in 1757 in his *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary* all through the critical debates of the neo-classic period of English letters it was treated with respect; and its significance has not been lost upon contemporary scholars who are concerned with the problems of taste, imagination, rules, and genius in the Age of Johnson. In general the essay is taken as part of the considerable literature on taste produced between 1750 and 1785 as especially relevant to the question of 'intuition' vs. 'psychology' in aesthetics.¹ The basic problem in which the discussion of taste plays an important part is, of course, the decay of 'neo-classicism' and the origin and rise of 'romanticism.'

It is generally assumed that the conflict of ideas, as the romantic view tended to replace the neo-classic, is represented by various individual critics who take one or the other of the alternative positions. Hume, according to this scheme, clearly belongs on the side of the classicists, for in his essays 'Of Tragedy' and 'Of the Standard of Taste' he holds firmly to the rules and argues for general and universal principles.² The question I would raise is whether a close study of such theoretical writings as 'Of the Standard of Taste' will not reveal a contradiction of ideas within themselves which is more vitally meaningful than open battle, let us say, between Hume and Bishop Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance*. If such a contradiction is to be found it would supply evidence for the hypothesis that the intellectual oppositions of a thinking age are reflected not merely in its literature but in the minds of its most sensitive thinkers; that vital antagonisms occur not simply between authors but within the single writings of individual authors.³ The proving of such an hypothesis would, in turn, demand a good many interesting revaluations, and, in the hands of skilled critics, might lead to insight into the creative process itself. Needless to say, the observations which follow are offered with no such pretensions.⁴

¹ Among the works with which Hume's essay may be compared are: John Armstrong, *Taste, an Epistle to a Young Critic*, 1753; Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 1756; John Gilbert Cooper, *Letters Concerning Taste*, 1757; Alexander Gerard, *Essay on Taste*, 1759; Lord Kames, *Elements of Criticism*, 1762; and James Beattie, *Dissertations Moral and Critical*, 1783. For the problem of intuition and psychology in 18th century literary theory see A. Bosker, *Literary Criticism in the Age of Johnson*, 1930; 40-41, 140-142, *et passim*, and Donald F. Bond, 'The Neo-Classic Psychology of the Imagination', *ELH*, IV, 245-264 (1937).

² 'But though poetry can never submit to exact truth, it must be confined by rules of art, discovered to the author either by genius or observation.' ('Of the Standard of Taste', *Works*, ed. T. H. Green and T. H. Grose, 1875; III, 270.)

³ See, for example, my 'Dr. Johnson and the Religious Problem', *English Studies*, XX, 1-17 (February 1938) where an attempt is made to show that Johnson's thinking reflected certain of the most important religious antagonisms of his time, and that this explains in part his constant spiritual misery.

⁴ In a recent series of distinguished articles ('The Antagonism of Forms in the Eighteenth Century', *English Studies*, XVIII, 115-121, 193-205; XIX, 1-13, 49-57; 1936-1937) Prof. Dr. Bernhard Fehr, whose recent death is a loss to all students of English

II

Toward the conclusion of his essay Hume offers his readers this definition of the standard of taste :

Strong sense, united to delicate sentiment, improved by practice, perfected by comparison, and cleared of all prejudice, can alone entitle critics to this valuable character; and the joint verdict of such, wherever they are to be found, is the true standard of taste and beauty.⁵

In the paragraphs which follow I propose to analyze the meaning of the definition and to work through Hume's argument, emphasizing steps which appear to involve either implicit or explicit contradictions.

The crux of the question which Hume is treating, as the definition makes clear, is the difficulty of arriving at any aesthetic which is not primarily subjective; and he does not evade the issue. 'Sense' and 'sentiment',

literature, outlined a thesis regarding oppositions in eighteenth century arts from a point of view rather different from the one here proposed. Prof. Fehr's thesis, roughly put, is that a study of forms in architecture, painting, or gardening will throw light, by analogy, upon poetry, and thence upon the spirit of the age itself. 'Now let us, instead of going on with the story of literature, consult the Fine Arts. What kind of evolution of forms do they reveal in the 17th and 18th centuries?' (XVIII, 115.) He begins with architecture, tracing the emergence of Baroque and neo-Gothic and showing how these forms are antagonistic to 'classic'. (It is worth noting that Prof. Fehr, though he uses them, finds that only usage prevents such words as 'classic' and 'romantic' from being quite meaningless.) In gardening the same evolution is to be found, while in painting a form that can be called 'naturalistic' holds a place corresponding to the Gothic or Baroque in the other arts. The latter case is especially interesting in the light of the analogy with poetry because 'naturalistic' in painting implies especially detail, color, and complexity, i.e. in poetry 'numbering the streaks of the tulip.' Prof. Fehr's sketches of the evolution in these arts are of necessity rapid, but they are accurate and provide plenty of material for his analogy. Passing, then, to literature, he shows that the poetry of the Pope tradition would correspond with what was considered classic in the other arts, whereas that of Akenside, Thomson, or Mallett would parallel the Baroque, Gothic, or naturalistic. Thus a dynamic aesthetic is opposed to a static, and this fact would seem to explain in part at least the vitality of the arts of the eighteenth century.

Prof. R. S. Crane, reviewing the articles (*Philological Quarterly*, XVI, 160-161, 1937), does not see any way in which one can discuss 'either the truth or relevance of (such) metaphors'. (161) In fact, he seems to be pretty skeptical of the whole idea. Though he may be right in thinking that Prof. Fehr's thesis is not readily susceptible of scientific verification (which is a problem for the logicians), I do not agree that Prof. Fehr fails to shed any light on his subject. He is illustrating from a fresh point of view what seems to me, and I feel sure to many others, the central fact of the neo-classic period: that there was in that age a peculiar nexus of antagonistic views of life and art, and that for this reason it seems in so many ways to summarize and write *finis* to much that went before, and to set forth the serious beginnings of what was to come. My criticism of Prof. Fehr's thesis would be, rather, that he does not carry his method far enough, that having a good grasp of the antagonism hypothesis he does not apply it directly to single authors and works. I confess, however, that Prof. Crane's question as to why the analogy should have to be worked from the fine arts to poetry instead of *vice versa* seems to me well put.

⁵ *Works*, op. cit., III, 278-279. An important question raised by this definition which I shall not treat in this essay is the difficulty of proving it by any logic, a difficulty of which Hume was aware. See E. N. Hooker, 'The Discussion of Taste, from 1750 to 1770, and the New Trends in Literary Criticism', *PMLA*, XLIX, 577-592 (1934) and R. W. Babcock, 'The Idea of Taste in the 18th Century', *PMLA*, L, 922-926 (1935) for a discussion of this problem and related matters. Mr. Hooker covers a great deal of material in a short compass, touching significantly on Hume; and Mr. Babcock criticizes him shrewdly but a little unfairly for undertaking more than could be done in the scope of his article.

opposed in the definition, are carefully distinguished all through the essay; and, in fact, the whole argument depends on separating them and showing how they can be balanced into a kind of objectivity which will command respect from thinking people. What do the words mean for Hume's purpose? 'Sense' is taken rather loosely as equivalent to 'opinion', to 'judgment', or to 'common sense'.⁶ It is clearly a function of the *understanding*.⁷ It is used *passively* of course, because Hume is dealing with criticism from the point of view of the critic; but in its *active* sense it would be easily recognizable as *invention*, or the poet's faculty of 'coming upon' the rules and unifying principles of his subject matter. Concretely, it is the faculty which enables any literate man to see that Milton is a superior poet to Ogilby.⁸ Hume would admit, as I do, that hairs can be split over its meaning; yet it cannot be denied that all the various psychologies offered in the eighteenth century acknowledged some analogous faculty.

'Sentiment' is another matter. To understand what Hume means by it requires remembering his fundamental principle of cognition: *that we know as real only our own impressions*.⁹ And further, as he insists, we are not permitted to develop corollaries by which the existence of an object for our impressions is inferred. Thus, in the essay on taste, it is asserted that 'Beauty is no quality in things themselves: it exists merely in the mind which contemplates them; and each mind perceives a different beauty.'¹⁰ If there were no more than this there would obviously be as many standards of taste as there are percipients, for beauty is taken as completely subjective. Hume, in fact, accepts the implications and agrees that 'the proverb has justly determined it to be fruitless to dispute concerning tastes.'¹¹

But, fortunately, this is not all. 'Sentiment', which will vary with each individual percipient and which has led to the proverb about taste, only *seems* to have 'the sanction of common sense', for 'there is certainly a species of common sense which opposes it, at least serves to modify and restrain it.'¹² The evidence is close at hand, for it is simply a plain fact that Ogilby is inferior to Milton, or that Bunyan is less elegant than Addison. 'Though there may be found persons who give the preference to the former authors, no one pays attention to such a taste; and we pronounce without scruple the sentiment of these pretended critics to be absurd and ridiculous. The principle of the natural equality of tastes is then totally forgot, and while we admit it on some occasions, where the objects seem near an equality, it appears an extravagant paradox, or rather a palpable absurdity, where objects so disproportioned are compared together.'¹³

From this point Hume proceeds to show, by the example of Homer, that 'a real genius' will always command the respect of men and provide

⁶ 'Where good sense is wanting, he is not qualified to discern the beauties of design and reasoning, which are the highest and most excellent.' (Ibid., 278.)

⁷ 'But as our intention in this essay is to mingle some light of the understanding with the feelings of sentiment ...' (*Works, op. cit.*, III, 272.)

⁸ Ibid., 269.

⁹ 'We need but reflect on that principle so oft insisted on, *that all our ideas are copied from our impressions*.' (*Treatise of Human Nature*, I, iii, 1. 'Of Knowledge') The italics are Hume's.

¹⁰ *Works, op. cit.*, III, 268.

¹¹ Ibid., 269.

¹² Loc. cit.

¹³ Loc. cit.

them with aesthetic pleasure. Though from time to time mistakes will be made and a bad poet will tend to eclipse a great one, sooner or later his faults will be detected and he will sink back to his natural level. The argument thus far is summarized :

It appears, then, that, amidst all the variety and caprice of taste, there are certain general principles of approbation or blame, whose influence a careful eye may trace in all operations of the mind.¹⁴

But we are now confronted by evidence of another kind. Though few will deny the superiority of, let us say, Homer to Blackmore, yet there are many who do not find much beauty in even the best poets. The logical alternatives are obvious: either the standard by which the 'best poets' have been chosen is defective, or something is the matter with the critical faculties of the percipient. Hume ignores the first, and though he is proving a standard of taste, he assumes that one exists (and is correct) in order to clarify the difficulties which beset persons who miss the great beauties. 'One obvious cause why many feel not the proper sentiment of beauty is the want of that delicacy of imagination which is requisite to convey a sensibility of those finer emotions.'¹⁵ The slippery word here is 'delicacy'. How is it to be determined? Who is to judge whether he lacks it who cannot appreciate Milton? Notice, too, that it plays an important part in the definition toward which Hume is working. But he does not shirk his task and presently offers a description of this delicacy which ought to serve the purpose. 'Where the organs are so fine as to allow nothing to escape them, and at the same time so exact as to perceive every ingredient in the composition, this we call delicacy of taste, whether we employ these terms in the literal or metaphorical sense.'¹⁶ This delicacy of taste is, further, susceptible of proof: 'wherever you can ascertain a delicacy of taste, it is sure to meet with approbation; and the best way of ascertaining it is to appeal to those models and principles which have been established by the uniform consent and experience of nations and ages.'¹⁷ But here we have come full circle. Hume has assumed what was to be proved in order to establish a corollary to the main argument. The whole proposition can, in fact, be reduced to an absurdity: a standard of taste exists because the common sense and common sentiment of all ages are in agreement in judging certain authors, and they agree because there is a standard of taste upon which their judgments have been formed.

III

Few English thinkers have been more rigidly logical than Hume; of that there can be no doubt. How then can he be guilty of such an elementary logical fallacy as argument in a circle? The answer to this question lies, I think, in an unconscious incompatibility of assumptions. In the first place, we must go back to the *Treatise of Human Nature* for Hume's principle of cognition referred to above. If that is applied to his argument on taste it is apparent that *only sentiment* has any final validity, for beauty 'exists merely in the mind which contemplates them; and each mind perceives a

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 271. ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 272. ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 273. ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 274.

different beauty.' Now in the Platonic logic this assumption could, as a matter of fact, lead to a standard of taste, because the innumerable particulars involved could be generalized by their participation in the *idea of beauty*. That is to say, beauties may be different, but they will all be beautiful.¹⁸ But Hume was not a Platonist; and he did not believe in the reality of ideas, as the passage quoted in note 9 above indicates. He makes no attempt to apply a transcendental logic, but conducts his argument throughout on an empirical basis.

If this first assumption of the argument were the only one, Hume would be led by his empirical method to a subjective aesthetics not far removed, in spirit at least, from later romantic and impressionistic theories.¹⁹ But in short order he runs full face into another assumption which he holds simultaneously but which is contradictory: i.e. that there is an objective standard of evaluation. This premise, of course, springs from the whole convention of neo-classic theory and is inseparable from the principles of rules and invention. It is precisely at this point that the old order clashes with the new. Hume is expressing theoretically the fundamental opposition which is illustrated concretely in, for example, Dr. Johnson's attack on the unities in his *Preface to Shakespeare*.²⁰ Johnson, it will be recalled, adheres to the rules pretty generally throughout his criticism, and in the *Preface* arrives at Shakespeare's defects by applying them. Yet the most important rules of the drama he sees fit to disregard for reasons of personal taste, though he backs up his rejection with an irrefutable argument. Hume, in like manner, wishes to unite 'strong sense' which is relatively objective, with 'sentiment', which on his own principle of philosophy is exclusive of other considerations, in order to arrive at a definition for the standard of taste.²¹

¹⁸ For an excellent exposition of the Platonic aesthetics, which is more accurately neo-Platonic, as it may be related to this point see Paul Elmer More, 'Plotinus', *Hellenistic Philosophies*, 1923, 184 ff. For a discussion of the neo-Platonic influences in neo-classic criticism see Louis I. Bredvold, 'The Tendency toward Platonism in Neo-Classical Esthetics', *ELH*, I, 91-120 (1934).

¹⁹ See for example the famous passages on the imagination in the *Biographia Literaria*, XIII ('On the Imagination or Esemplastic Power') where Coleridge is perilously close to solipsism, as Hume would be if his logic were carried out to the full.

²⁰ *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Walter Raleigh, 1908; 24-30.

²¹ It is easy to find analogous antagonisms, though not, I think, of equal importance. Consider, for example, letters VI-VIII in Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762) where the exclusive character of the 'Gothic' and the 'classic' methods of achieving unity is recognized. Hurd seems to adhere to both with equal certainty and violates the spirit of neo-classicism by wishing to apply now one standard and now another, depending upon which authors are to be judged. For an acute analysis of the contradictions which inform the critical theories of Joseph Warton see Hoyt Trowbridge, 'Joseph Warton on the Imagination', *Modern Philology*, XXXV, 72-87 (August 1937). 'The curious and significant fact about Warton is that he should have failed to see this incompatibility. He accepted, as fully as anyone in his time, the more or less Horatian doctrine that poetry, if it is to have a permanent audience, must deal with eternal and unchanging materials. But at other times, quite disregarding this principle, he based his contentions on the more or less Longinian doctrine that poetry must be exciting, vivid, and expressive of an unusually live, warm, and sensitive personality. Occasionally, as in Warton's demand for vivid particularity, the 'inconsistencies between the two traditions are only too apparent.' (81.) It is perhaps worth remarking that Warton has a sense for the word 'imagination' which Mr. Trowbridge does not treat: imagination taken as a *plastic* power, in a way anticipating Coleridge. (*Essay on the Writings and Genius of Pope*, ed. 1806, I, 108.)

IV

If the thesis which the foregoing paragraphs try to establish is sound, the conclusions are obvious enough. Hume was, in the first place, neither 'classic' nor 'romantic', but both equally at the same time. His main tendency is, of course, conventional and the weight of his authority goes to neo-classicism; yet if both 'classic' and 'romantic' can be applied to him in some measure they do not seem to be of very great value as descriptive terms. What we are dealing with in his 'Of the Standard of Taste' is not a document which specifically takes sides in an open controversy, but a vital piece of critical literature which shows how difficult it is for even the sharpest minds to think logically when their materials are partly of a static nature and partly of a dynamic, an essay which, indeed, owes much of its significance to the fact that it reflects antagonisms which produced the real spirit of its age.

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Remarks about English Negative Sentences

To begin with let us recall the history of English negative sentences, as it has been traced by Jespersen. In OE the word *ne*, which negatives a verb, stands immediately before it. The OE type is thus *ic ne secge*. The negative being very weak in this proclitic position, the language began to add negative adverbs or nouns. Thus we arrive at the intermediate type *I ne seye not*, which (*mutatis mutandis*) was in use already in OE and became still more current in ME. By this process the negation was strengthened, but the old verbal negative word *ne* began to be superfluous. The natural consequence was that *not* did not content itself with being a mere support or *ne* but usurped the whole negative function. The language passed over to its third phase of negation: *I say not*. In the 15th century this point was reached. However, about 1700 English had already definitely done with it, and a new era began: that of *I do not say*. The decisive turn took place in the 17th century. From that time on sentences like *I know him not* are no longer possible (leaving out of consideration some old and rather obsolete expressions as *I know not* etc., which, however, have no object), i.e. sentences in which, as in German, the verb stands at the end or, better, distinctly apart from the negative. Henceforward the negative particle belongs to the verb again; it returns to the place which it had left.

The tenses composed with auxiliary verbs had long preceded the simple verb forms, for as early as ME the negative was put between auxiliary and verb: "Thou canst not warne him that, with good entente, Axeth thyn help." (Chaucer, *Minor Poems* I, 11/12); "Certes", quod Prudence, "if ye wol werke by my conseil, ye shul nat assaye fortune by no wey." (Chaucer, *Tale of Melibeus* § 42).

Let us now throw a glance back and recall the details of the introduction

of the *do*-periphrasis into negative sentences. It is well known that it appears in them later than in affirmative sentences. In Shakespeare's prose, in negative declarative sentences as well as in negative imperative ones, the non-periphrastic negation prevails. In either case the present-day usage is reached about 1700. That the language has introduced the *do*-periphrasis into negative sentences is so striking a fact that we cannot possibly avoid asking ourselves the meaning of it. For there is no doubt that every development is an unconscious, instinctive inclination towards an aim, directed by a force which, unrecognizable while acting, leads the process to a well determined end. Why the negative has a propensity towards the verb, and in what way this inclination has been and is still realizing itself, is interesting, and we shall try to explain it here.

The moment the negative particle is tagged on to the forms of *do* and the other auxiliaries it must needs lose its stress. It consequently loses its tone, too, and becomes an enclitic behind the preceding auxiliaries. Shakespeare does not use the forms *don't* etc., but he slurs *do*, *can*, *may* etc. with *not* (see Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik* § 599). In the further development we observe the complete enclitisation and devocalisation of *not*. I have tried elsewhere (in an article to appear in *Englische Studien* Vol. 73) to prove that at the end of the ME period the negative *not* must have played an important part and therefore must have had a strong stress. In the 16th century a shift begins to take place, the advanced phase (not the end) of which is represented by the stage in which we find ourselves to-day. This slackening in stress of the word *not* is a symptom, a symptom of debility. Loss of stress means loss of accent, which is equivalent to loss of importance. If a word loses the main part of its bodily substance, it has ceased to play a decisive rôle. But it seems impossible that a word like *not* should become unimportant. Is it not indispensable to express the denial of a fact? The answer to this objection is that we must not confound negation and negative. Not negation in itself became dubious, only the way of expressing negativity changed. English has ceased to lay stress on the negative particle, because it has introduced the *do*-periphrasis into the negative sentence. (The cases where there is another auxiliary in positive sentences will be discussed later on.)

English has different verbal forms for positive and negative statements. Every language has a Positive Form, but not every language has a Negative Form. The latter exists in none of the European languages. We find it, however, in Turkish. Turkish *geliyor* means 'he is coming', *gelmiyor* 'he is not coming'. The *m(e)* which distinguishes the Negative from the Positive Form is not a negative particle; it does not exist independently. It is merely a formative element of the Negative Form. Thus the Positive and the Negative differ from one another not only by a syllable, but are completely independent heterogeneous forms. The same tendency towards the creation of a Negative Form is to be seen in English. *I do not come* is not the opposite of *I do come*, but of *I come*; that is, the Positive has no resemblance to the Negative Form, for there is no periphrasis in the Positive. The case seems to be different in the compound tenses, where we have *not* simply tagged on to the auxiliaries. *He will not come* is undoubtedly the negative counterpart of *he will come* and so on. But the resemblance is purely external; for in spoken language the opposites are *he will come* or *he'll come* and *he won't come*. Positive and Negative

have an entirely different sound-character. The amalgamation of auxiliary and negative has been carried through in nearly all possible cases; only *an't* or *ain't* (Americans spell *I aren't*) has not yet entered into cultivated speech, and is "sometimes held vulgar" (Concise Oxford Dictionary s.v. *be*). The vanishing of this "vulgarity", however, is but a question of time.

In a great many cases we have addition of *n't* but no fusion between *not* and auxiliary. *He is / he isn't, he was / he wasn't, he has / he hasn't* are couples where the contrast of Positive and Negative is, to all appearances, very small and the difference consists in a mere adding of *n't*. But, although the change from Positive to Negative is not so patent as in the cases mentioned before, the language makes a clear phonetic distinction, that of intonation. The sentence *he is my friend* leaves the *is* unstressed; *is* has but an enclitic stress in accordance with its copulative character. The same applies to the other auxiliaries, so far as unemotional, positive sentences are concerned. This is proved by the fact that in positive sentences we have elision of the auxiliaries (*he's come, he'd do it* etc.), whilst in negative sentences elision is excluded for the very reason that here the stress lies on the auxiliary. There are no such forms as *I vn't, you'ren't, he'sn't, he'dn't*, but only *I haven't, you aren't, he isn't, he hadn't*, i.e. forms with a stressed auxiliary. In positive sentences the auxiliary is not independent, but leans upon the preceding word and often forms a group with it, the unstressed part of which it becomes in this case. On the other hand, the auxiliary in negative sentences is closely connected with the following negative particle which it absorbs, i.e. it forms a syntactical group with it and, as a stressed part of this group, takes away any stress the negative may have had. The two elements which distinguish the Positive from the Negative are thus *intonation and group amalgamation*. We understand now why the language neglects and leaves unstressed the negative word. Since it has a Negative Form, the negative word is no more important, and has no significance in itself, because it has become a purely formal element. It can even give up what otherwise is the bodily substance of a word, its vowel, the criterion of negative having passed over to the group *auxiliary + negative word*. We thus arrive at the groups: *isn't, aren't, wasn't, weren't, shan't, won't, can't, couldn't, wouldn't, shouldn't, haven't, hasn't, hadn't, needn't, oughtn't, mightn't, mustn't, don't, doesn't, didn't*.² There is no Negative Form for the Infinitive, because it is mostly the finite verb that is negated: *he didn't go*; in other cases the language seems to prefer the affective word-negation: *to be or not to be*.

There are cases where the transition from Positive to Negative Form is not very distinct. Jespersen (*Negation* p. 11) points out examples: "If we contrast an extremely common pronunciation of the two opposite statements *I can do it* and *I cannot do it*, the negative notion will be found to be expressed by nothing else but a slight change of the vowel (ai kæn du' it / ai kə'n du it). Note also the extreme reduction in a familiar pronunciation of *I don't know* and *I don't mind* as (ai dn-nou) or (ai d'nou) and (ai dm-maind) or (ai d-maind), where practically nothing is left of the original negative." The difference between Positive and Negative Form is not very great, indeed, but still great enough to distinguish one form from

² That some people prefer the literary, non-contracted forms with a full *not*, is due to the conservatism of those speakers and has nothing to do with the main current of the spoken language.

the other. *I cannot do it* differs from *I can do it* not only through the vowel, but also by the fact that the negated form *ka·nt* bears a stress (Jespersen's half length). Likewise *ai dn nou* or *ai d nou* is separated from its unnegated counterpart first by that soft *dn*, and secondly by a slight variation of the sentence melody. From *ai* to *nou* the voice remains on the same level, from *ai* to *dn* and *nou* it does not. At *dn* the voice falls and rises again on *nou*. Thus the curves of intonation are different. For *I don't mind* a mistake is completely excluded, there being practically no Positive Form. Therefore I do not think that one day the language may again look for a means of strengthening the negative word, as Jespersen holds: "It is possible that some new device of strengthening may at some future date be required to remedy such functions" (i.e. the before mentioned indistinctness). (*Negation* p. 11). I should think that this danger is non-existent, the language having chosen the way of the Negative Form.

In interrogative sentences the difference between Positive and Negative is not so distinct, since we already have periphrasis with *do* in positive questions (except in forms composed with other auxiliaries), and apparently the *not* is merely tagged on to the auxiliary: *has he come* / *hasn't he come*, *did you see him* / *didn't you see him*, *why hasn't the fellow written?* The difference undoubtedly lies in the *n't* only, without any additional change of sentence melody. The explanation probably is that the idea of negativity in interrogative sentences is not vitally important, the prevailing notion being that of interrogation. A negative interrogatory sentence is, so to speak, but a modification of the affirmative question, whilst between a positive and a negative declarative sentence there lies a gulf of essential difference of intent.

Considering our results, we observe the tendency of the English language to create a Negative Form to express negative statements. It is a sentence negation, and not a "verbal" negation.³

The category of the Negative which lies before us as the almost complete result of two centuries of evolution is not so new and unknown to English as it seems to be. A thousand years ago the language made the same attempt at a Negative Form, but failed. OE had a special negative to be used only before verbal forms. Although by their origin verbal and non-verbal negative are one and the same, namely *ne*, the language soon separated one from the other. Before nouns, *ne* was strengthened by a (see Einenkel l.c.), so that practically *na* resulted, and similar fusions were accomplished between *ne* and *æfre* etc., and eventually *ne* was reserved to the verb, which it preceded. A further step toward a Negative Form was the fusion of *ne* with *wesan*, *habban*, *willan*, *agan*, *witan* (see Wülfing, *Syntax* II, § 587 f.) which produced *nis*, *næs*, *næbbe*, *nulle* etc.. Yet the attempt was not successful.

Why did the verbal negative *ne* give in to the new *not*? It does not suffice to say that it had become too weak to express the idea of negativity, since it had, indeed, proved strong enough to perform the amalgamation

³ The distinction generally made between verbal and nominal negation applies rather to morphology, and indicates but a formal difference, two aspects of one and the same proceeding, namely word negation. "Sentence negation", however, and its opposite, "word negation", mark a different way of thinking. What I understand by sentence negation is a synthetic Negative Form.

with the above mentioned verbs. The sudden stop in the direction of sentence negation patently betrays a change in mentality. We could raise in objection the well-known fact that in almost every language the same process was carried through, i.e. the strengthening of a negative particle which had become meaningless: Lat. *non* = *ne* + *unum*, G. *nicht* = *ne* + *wicht*, F. *ne pas* = *ne* + *pas*. That means that such monosyllables needed a support to keep up the idea of negativity. But the objection is true only in cases where a language has but one kind of negation, viz. word negation, for verbs as well as for non-verbs. Word negation cannot exist without a strong negative. But OE had two sorts of negation, as I pointed out above. Yet, as the result shows, it was but a beginning, an attempt of the negated verb to establish its independence of other negated notions. Still, the fusion between *ne* and *wæs* etc. was felt to be on the same line with *næfre* < *ne æfre*, *nan* < *ne an* etc., i.e. the identity of formation was still obvious and *ne* was recognized to be the same element in both types. Consequently, the negated verb forms were not taken for set synthetic forms, but counted as separable compounds, the first part of which was *ne*. Had the evolution of the Negative Form, at the moment when the strengthening of *ne* was performed, reached a more developed phase in which *ne* + verb would have formed a fixed group, its dislocation would have been impossible. As it was, however, it underwent the necessary linguistic development, the group found itself split up and its negative element strengthened. In OE we already come across such strengthenings by means of *na*, though not with regularity; the adverb is rather arbitrary and takes on the character of style more than that of grammar (see Wülfing, *Syntax* II, § 595: "Die gehäufte Verneinung dient bei Alfred stets zur Verstärkung."). Later on, in ME, the strengthening of the negative was carried through by means of *not*, which altogether ousted *ne* and took the whole meaning of negativity to itself. Thus, word-negation was victorious, and there was no trace left of the tendency to create a sentence negation. In the 17th century the language began to regulate word order and introduced the periphrasis with *do* into the negative sentences, so that the type Subject-Verb-Object became normal and general. The appearance of this new impulse in the life of the language, the sign of a beginning rationalization, is responsible for the introduction of the *do*-periphrasis and, indirectly, for the establishment of the Negative Form: *not* followed *do* as it had, for a long time, followed the auxiliaries *shall*, *will* etc. And now the way was clear for the Sentence Negative to gain ground; in principle, it had been definitely accepted. An age-long tendency, which formerly had not proved strong enough to realize itself, finally was fulfilled.

When we ask ourselves why the language adopted such a thing as a Negative Form, I am inclined to see the probable reason in the growing tendency of English to become synthetical again. The creation of our Form is not an isolated phenomenon within the structure of English. Since the beginning of the ModE period the language has been at work building up a new system of verbal categories: the so-called Expanded Form (*to be* + *-ing*), the Emphatic Mood (*I dó like it*), the Perfect (which in Early ModE was not yet separate from the Preterit; cf. Franz, *Shakespeare-Grammatik* § 635). The Negative Form stands in the same line of synthetic categories. And now we understand, too, why the OE

development stopped so suddenly. The reasons which explain the rise of the Negative Form in the ModE period also account for the failure to which it was condemned in OE. There, just the opposite current is to be observed: the language was becoming more and more analytic. So it was but natural that a development should be cut off which was contrary to the general trend of the language at that time.

The language has not destroyed the old negative word, and it may even lay a stress on it. But this implies (leaving out of consideration the above mentioned preference given by conservative speakers to the literary non-contracted forms) another shade of negativity, namely emphasized sentence negation. We may often come across sentences like 'I shall *not* come', with a strongly stressed negative. Examples:

(Artists need a stimulus to their art). George said: 'It was probably true of Goethe.' 'Anyhow, it's not what matters to me,' she continued. (Charles Morgan, *Sparkenbroke*, Albatross ed. p. 58)
'Why not? Don't say: because you love him or because he's your husband. That's not an answer.' (ibid. p. 57)

Although the negative is not so strong here as in the first 'I shall not come' — there are, of course, gradations in emphasis —, we have an emphasized sentence negation.⁴

⁴ We observe that, though emphatic sentence negation is intended and expressed, it is done by word-negation, which leads us to some additional remarks. Strictly speaking, the chapter on sentence-negation should be closed here, and the role of *not*, too. There being, however, another domain of *not*, I shall touch on it with a few words, though it does not properly belong here. "Word-negation" may have two meanings; the first is that in which we have used it, viz. negation by means of one word. The second would be that of "negating one special word". Used in this latter acceptance, *not* goes with the numerous other negatives like *no*, *none*, *neither* etc. which we cannot deal with here, since it is not our purpose to give full particulars on the whole chapter of English negation. Our aim was to point out the rise and evolution of sentence-negation. *Not* partakes of the two meanings of 'word negation'. Except as a means of emphasizing sentence negation, it has ceased to play an active part in negating a verb, i.e. a sentence. Since, however, a language cannot forego a means of negating single words, *not* is still strong in this function.

'... But perhaps you'll come again. Come *not* on Saturday and I'll show you my own treasures.' (*Sparkenbroke* p. 163)
She may come any time she likes, except on a Saturday. This day is expressly excluded. Serving the purpose of negating one word, *not* is with preference used in contrasting two opposites:

In the dispensary, this resolution had seemed not easy but simple and natural. (ibid. p. 211)

The practice of sane living consisted not in fighting temptation — ... but in teaching one's mind how to hold its tongue. (ibid. p. 104)

You watch a man die that you've known all your life and, quite suddenly, in the moment of death he becomes a stranger. He's not finding something new; he's falling back on something old, something familiar to him in the way that his childhood would be familiar if he could re-enter it. (ibid. p. 61)

[The following passage from chapter XI of Trollope's *Barchester Towers* seems to offer a good illustration of Dr. Marchand's argument:

"Do you like Barchester on the whole?" asked Bertie.
The bishop, looking dignified, said that he did like Barchester.
"You've not been here very long, I believe," said Bertie.
"No — not long," said the bishop, and ...

"You weren't a bishop before, were you?" etc.

The conversation should be read in its entirety — Z.]

Even in negative answers to disjunctive questions English uses the Negative Form and not word negation. When you ask: "*Have you done it or not?*" "*Did you see him or not?*", the usual answer you get is "*No*", "*I haven't*." "*I didn't*", i.e. English uses the unemphatic sentence negation where in German, for example, the same answer would be made emphatically by stressing the negative: "*Ich habe es nicht getan*." As a rule, English does not like to emphasize the idea of negativity, being a language which naturally avoids emotionality. Emphasis of negation is not so frequent in educated English as in popular speech. Parlance generally being more emphatic in the latter sphere, it is only natural that the notion of negativity is underlined more often, a fact which mostly causes a strengthening by means of an additional negative. *Money isn't no object whatever to me* (Dick., Sk., q. by Einkenkel, Syntax p. 75). *There ain't not no poetry in green stuff* (Sims, Polly, q. ibd.). We observe that the Negative Form is used together with a negative. This proves: first, that the Negative is a set form in the language, and second, that it is the unemotional way of negation and is not held strong enough to express emphasis.

Istanbul.

HANS MARCHAND.

Notes and News

Linguistic Atlas of New England. On December 1, 1938, the first volume will appear of a Linguistic Atlas of New England, Section I of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada, the active preparation of which has been under way for the last seven years. A prospectus has been issued containing details of the plan of the atlas, an outline of the uses to which its data can be put, a number of charts illustrating the distribution of various features of folk speech in New England, and a specimen map. Volume I of the Atlas will contain 238 maps, and will be furnished both bound and unbound, at a price of \$60.00 and \$55.00 respectively. An introductory volume, the *Handbook to the Linguistic Geography of New England*, will appear at the same time (price \$5.00 bound). A discount of 20 percent will be allowed on subscriptions received before publication date.

The remaining two volumes of the Linguistic Atlas of New England will appear at intervals of one to two years.

The Date of "The Education of Henry Adams." In the April, 1938, issue of *English Studies* (p. 71), Mr. H. Lüdeke, reviewing Dr. Carl Van Doren's *What is American Literature?*, writes, "... occasionally a slip in facts occurs (*The Education of Henry Adams* appeared in 1913, not toward the end of the War.)" It seems that Mr. Lüdeke himself has slipped, for the actual dates of the Education are these:

The preface to the original edition is dated 16 February 1907; Editor Henry Cabot Lodge's preface to the first published edition is dated September 1918; and the facts regarding the book's publication may be found in Mr. James Truslow Adams's introduction to the Modern Library edition (New York, 1931):

Few books have had so unexpected a success as *The Education of Henry Adams*. Printing the manuscript privately 1907 in an edition of one hundred copies only for distribution among his friends, the author declined to allow the book to be published during his lifetime. He bequeathed the copyright, however, to the Massachusetts Historical Society, and in 1918, about six months after his death, the first published edition appeared.

The University of Southern California.

WILLIAM WHITE.

Reviews

Histoire de la forme périphrastique être + participe présent en Germanique. Par FERNAND MOSSÉ. 2 vols, 126 + 302 pp. Paris: Klincksieck. 1938. 40 + 85 francs.

The expanded forms in English (referred to below as EXF) have often been dealt with from different points of view, but this learned and useful work by F. Mossé, directeur d'études at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, is the first complete history of the construction.

Part 1 consists of an account of the history of the EXF in the older stages of the Germanic languages, with special reference to OE. Though the EXF apparently existed in the Indo-European parent language, M. does not think that its occurrence in the daughter languages goes back to a common source. Given a verb of existence and a present participle, the construction is, he points out, so natural that it may very well have developed independently, but its chief source is, he believes, an influence from Latin, especially from the Vulgate: in the Vulgate it occurs with a frequency which partly reflects the usage of the Greek New Testament, where in its turn it may be due to an Aramaeic substratum.

In order to prove this thesis, M. examines the occurrence of the EXF in the older stages of the Germanic languages. As regards Gothic, he shows that Ulfila's use of the EXF is so dependent on the Greek original that it is impossible to draw any conclusions as to their occurrence in natural Gothic. As regards Old Scandinavian, he finds support for his thesis in the contrast between the frequent occurrence of the EXF in translations and their comparative rarity in popular texts. Considerable space is devoted to the EXF in Old High German, where the construction gained a real foothold for a time, and became the origin of the present German expression of futurity.

But the only Germanic language where the construction came to stay is, of course, English, and M. devotes the greater part of his first volume to an examination of its occurrence in OE texts. Starting with the early

interlinear translations and passing on to Bede, Orosius, and Ælfric, he finds that the construction was at first principally used to render Latin deponent verbs, passives, adjectival present participles, and the types *erat docens* and *venturus est*. The earlier and clumsier the translation, the closer does the employment of EXF correspond to these Latin forms. In later OE translations by more competent translators the construction occurs with considerable frequency, but much more independently of the Latin originals. M. concludes that the origin of the construction was a habit acquired by, or even systematically taught to, the early monkish translators, and modelled on Latin syntax. It is significant that the EXF are rare in that part of OE literature which is relatively independent of the clerical tradition: there is only one case of them in the *Othere* and *Wulfstan* interpolations in the *Alfredian Orosius*, only 3 in *Beowulf*, only one in the *Charms*, and none in the *Riddles*.

In the last chapter of Part I, M. tries to ascertain the meaning of the EXF in OE. He distinguishes between some 15 shades of meaning: actuality, indefinite and limited duration, permanent qualities, descriptive value, repetition, simultaneity, ingressive value, etc. I confess that I am wholly unconvinced by this. In the first place, the delimitation of these categories seems to me extremely vague. "Actuality" (and *ðæt leoht wæs weaxende mare and mare, and hraðe to me wæs efstende*) and "limited duration" (*Perseus ... on ða ðeode winnende wæs oþ hi him gehyrsume wæron*) appear to me to be the same thing, the only difference being that the limitation of the duration of the action, or the moment round which the EXF forms a "frame", is implicit in the first case and explicit in the second. Nor does the alleged iterative element (*hwilum wæs on hors sittende, ac oþfor on his fotum gangende | he æfre þas leode mid here and mid ungyldre tyrwigende wæs*) appear to me to be something inherent in the EXF. In the examples quoted, the iterative element is mostly contained in some adverb like *æfre* and *hwilum*, and not in the EXF itself.

Is it really conceivable that the EXF in OE can have had some 15 different functions, most of which were also apparently performed by the simple forms? Is not that the same as to say that the EXF in OE had no particular function at all? While all these shades of meaning are compatible with the EXF — just as a great many shades of meaning are compatible with e.g. the present tense, or the imperative — they are not functions of the EXF: they are the results of the inherent meaning of the verbs in question or of the context. The impression left on me by M.'s examples is that, apart possibly from a tendency to use the EXF in a durative sense, the form in OE was essentially a stylistic variant of the simple form, which could be used almost anywhere and which could be replaced by the simple form without changing the meaning almost anywhere. It was only at a later stage that the language began to utilize the existence of a duplicate set of forms to express a definite shade of meaning. M.'s own examples and remarks furnish some evidence of the correctness of this view: he says that the use of the EXF in OE had not yet been systematized, and that there are cases where they seem to be deprived of any special sense, and he shows that different scribes vary in their use of the EXF when dealing with the same text.

This tendency to read too much into grammatical forms appears in

several places in the book and forms a contrast with the caution and sobriety which otherwise characterize it. Thus M. ascribes to the OE prefix *ge-* a number of specific meanings (perfectivity, completion, result, an ingressive, egressive, and punctual value, etc.) which appear to me to be reducible to the formula that *ge-* turns imperfective into perfective verbs.

In Part 2, the author discusses the spread and development of the EXF in ME and ModE. The volume begins with an account of the decay of the old system of aspects expressed by means of prefixes, which OE had inherited from Primitive Germanic. The place of the old contrast: simple v. compound verb was, he thinks, gradually taken by a new contrast, viz. that of simple v. expanded form.

The account of the spread of the EXF in ME takes the form of an extremely detailed and careful statistical survey of its occurrence in all the principal texts of the different dialects, and brings out a clear distinction between the frequency with which it occurs in the latter: in the 13th century it may almost be said to be frequent in the dialects spoken North of the Humber, and practically non-existent in the South-West and the East Midlands, while it is used very moderately in Kentish and West Midland. In the 14th century its occurrence increases in frequency everywhere, with the doubtful exception of West Midland. It obtains a footing in the literary language (Chaucer and Gower) and in East Midland, thus occupying the two key positions for further development in Standard English. These statistics show conclusively that, in spite of the fact that the EXF were on the decline in late OE, there was never a complete break of continuity.

The possibility of an influence from Celtic, French, and mediaeval Latin is discussed, and an account is given of the other *-ing* forms (absolute adjectival, prepositional, etc. constructions), which M. thinks may have prepared the way for the spread of the EXF.

As regards the change from *-ande/ende/inde* into *-ing*, the process is, in M.'s opinion, essentially a phonetic one, which was, however, facilitated by the grammatical process which changed the old verbal noun into a "gerund" with certain verb-like characteristics (such as the capability of taking an object).

It is a well-known fact that many grammarians have ascribed to the type *he is on hunting* a decisive influence on the development of the EXF. This view is contested by M. on the grounds that there is no break of continuity, that the type *he is on hunting* does not make its appearance till the middle of the 15th century, i.e. at a time when the development of the EXF was already well under way, and that the construction with *on* was never anything like as frequent as the EXF. (M. estimates its frequency in the period 1500-1700, when it was greatest, at some 10 per cent. of that of the EXF).

Nor does M. think it necessary to have recourse to the type with *on* in order to account for the construction *the house is building*: the present participle of the verb is essentially neutral as regards the contrast: active v. passive, and the construction has therefore most likely developed of itself. "La vérité, c'est que *he was a-doing* vient se perdre dans *he was doing* comme un affluent dans un fleuve qu'il va grossir".

The last 100 pages are devoted to a detailed examination of the various shades of meaning which M. thinks are carried by the EXF in ModE,

each group being treated historically. A great number of specific meanings are listed: indefinite and definite duration, ingressive and egressive value, "insistance", and the expression of unreality. Several of them include a number of subdivisions.

This section is, I think, open to the same objections as the treatment of the meanings of the EXF in OE. In the first place, the whole grouping seems to me somewhat arbitrary. I cannot e.g. see the difference between ordinary "indefinite duration" (*the trees that I had cut down were lying on the ground*) and "description" (*she was leaning back in an Empire chair*), and the only difference between "indeterminate duration" (*the trees that I had cut down were lying on the ground*) and "determinate duration" (*I happened to be dusting the hall at the time*) appears to me to be that the "then-moment" is implied in the former and explicitly expressed in the latter case, i.e. the difference has nothing to do with the EXF in themselves. I also doubt whether it is correct to ascribe to the EXF as such any ingressive sense (*I'm beginning to feel beautifully picturesque*): the EXF denote that some action is being performed, and the inherent meaning of the verb, or the context, may concentrate attention on the earlier part of the process, but here again, the shade of meaning in question is not a function of the EXF itself. This is even more obviously the case with the egressive sense, which M. also lists, though he admits it to be rare: the verbs in the examples cited by him are *conclude*, *finish*, *die*, *cease*, *run out*, and *come to be*, all of them verbs which in themselves denote the completion of a process: the simple forms would be equally "egressive" here. The use of the EXF in expressions denoting "unreality", which are dealt with at great length (*but if you are acting right, I should be acting right in imitating you | I thought I was killing myself, and I did not care*), do not seem to me to differ from the ordinary use of the EXF at all. Nor can I see that the EXF in itself carries any element of emphasis ("insistance") in the numerous instances which M. lists under this head (*this is not fair. You are putting the responsibility on me. | My dear mother, you are very unjust and inconsiderate. I have been working and doing my best*). In the first example quoted above (and in many others) I cannot detect any emphatic element. In the second the emphasis, if any, is surely carried by the pronunciation of *have* with its peculiar stress and intonation, and not by the EXF as such.

M. says that his catalogue of values represents tendencies only: the use of the EXF has not yet been completely systematized, and it sometimes defies analysis. This I find it difficult to believe. It is, I am convinced, never possible to replace an expanded by a simple form without changing something in the meaning. It is, of course, clear that the two forms are used to describe the same happenings, but they describe them as seen from two different points of view, and it must be possible to define in what the difference consists. It must be possible to reduce the long catalogue of meanings to some formula, some unitary meaning, however abstract, of which the others are only variants, a task which has been attempted by several writers of less learning on the subject than M. Mossé (including the present reviewer), but which M. deliberately leaves aside.

M. Mossé's account of the earlier history of the EXF is based on an extremely thorough and extensive knowledge of the literature on the subject and of the earlier stages of the language, a knowledge which more than

once enables him to correct erroneous opinions, especially as regards the earliest occurrence of forms, in some cases even opinions entrenched in the OED. His theses are based on a much more extensive material than those of any earlier book dealing with the EXF. The great wealth of statistical information, not only about the history of the EXF, but also about all sorts of related phenomena, is very valuable and illuminating, and most of his historical theses carry conviction.

This is an important book, which no student of the EXF will be able to ignore for many years to come.

Copenhagen.

C. A. BODELSEN.

Die sächsischen Siedlungen auf dem französischen "Litus Saxonicum". Von HELMUT EHMER. (Studien zur englischen Philologie, herausg. von L. Morsbach & H.-O. Wilde. XCII.) XII + 58 pp. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag. 1937. RM. 2.80.

Attention has often been drawn to a group of place-names — some forty in all — to be found on the map of northern France in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, and ending in *thun*, many of them in *incthun*, *ingthun* or *e(n)thun* (*Baincthun*, *Dirlingthun*¹, *Wadenthun*, etc.). Of most of these ancient forms have been preserved proving them to contain the toponymic suffix (*ing*)*tun* or (*inga*)*tun* so common in English place-names, but, with the exception of this district, hardly ever found on the Continent. Thus *Baincthun* occurs as *Bagingatun* as early as 811; *Dirlingthun* as *Diorwalingatun* in 865, as *Dirlingatun* in 1107; *Wadenthun* is *Wadingatun* in 1084. Some of them even have exact counterparts beyond the Channel: cf. *Bainton* and *Waddington* (both in Yorkshire); also *Todincthun* (*Totingetun* 807) with *Tottington* (Kent, Lancs, Norfolk), and *Godincthun* with *Goddington* (Kent).

How are we to account for this similarity? The most obvious explanation would seem to be that at some time previous to the ninth century the

¹ Now extinct. — Some of the places in question are mere hamlets or even single farms or groups of farms. — Dr. Ehmer's list of names is incomplete, as appears from the *Dictionnaire Topographique du Département du Pas-de-Calais* rédigé par le Comte de Loïsne, Paris 1907, which is wanting in his Bibliography. Add *Albinthon*, *Imbrethun*, *Le Boutun*, *Ledrethun* (all of which Dr. E., in a footnote, quotes from Kurth, but omits from his list 'aus Mangel an Belegen'), *Hunctun*, *Lêrethun*, *Wingthun*. *Polincthun* is a mistake for *Pélincthun*, corrected by Kurth on p. 563 of his *Frontière linguistique*. — It is a pity that Dr. E. omits all references for his historic forms. One gets the impression that though on the whole reliable they have been taken at second hand, with the inaccuracies inevitable to such a procedure. Thus the form *Diorwalingathun* (with *h*) is probably derived from de Loïsne's article "La colonisation saxonne dans le Boulonnais" mentioned in the Bibliography; reference to the *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin* (also in the Bibliography!) would have shown that the spelling *thun* does not occur at that early date. — Dr. Ehmer's treatment of the subject suffers from his exclusion of any reference to the *hem* and other originally Germanic place-names of the district. The existence of such pairs as *Audincthun* — *Audinghen*, *Baincthun* — *Bainghen*, *Baudrethun* — *Baudringhen* etc., etc., can hardly be fortuitous.

Boulogne district was occupied by settlers from England, who naturally took their toponymic habits with them. It is true that we have no record of any such exodus; but this objection equally applies to the alternative theory², according to which the (*ing*)*tun* settlements are relics of the current of Saxon migration as it moved south-west along the coast of the North Sea, before crossing the Channel at its narrowest point. The latter opinion has been maintained, among others, by Winkler³, Hoops⁴, and more cautiously, Hodgkin⁵, who thinks that when, in the first decades of the fifth century, the government of Roman Gaul crumbled, "the Saxon marauders were left free to establish themselves at various points on the Gallic coast, settling now, if not earlier, in the villages round Boulogne (names of which still betray their Saxon origin by the ending *-thun* or *-tun*) and establishing themselves also in the Bessin round Bayeux and near the mouth of the Loire." In other words, the *thun*-names date from before, not after the Conquest.

In support of this theory a good deal of play has been made (though not by Hodgkin) with the phrase *litus saxonicum* occurring in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, an official document from the beginning of the fifth century dealing with the defences of the Empire. The name refers a) to the south-east coast of Britain, from the Wash to Spithead, protected by a number of forts; b) to a less clearly defined portion of the north-west coast of Gaul, including *Marcis* (abl. plur.), which has been identified with Marck, near Calais, and an unknown garrison town *Grannona*. In what sense were these shores called 'Saxon'? Does the epithet imply that there were Saxon settlements, along the British as well as the Gallic coasts, numerous enough for these regions to be called after them? Or does it simply mean that the coast had to be defended against Saxon invaders? As regards Britain, at any rate, Hodgkin seems to be of the latter opinion, while he is silent on the appellation as applied to the coast of Gaul. Hoops, who passes lightly over the British '*litus saxonicum*', thinks that the name points to the existence of Saxon settlements on the Gallic shore which soon afterwards served as bases for the conquest of Britain — hence, among other things, the 'Saxon' place-names. His theory, which bears upon certain aspects of Old English vocabulary, has been criticised by Lot⁶ and Mansion⁷, the latter concluding that "sur quelques douzaines de noms en *-tun* et la vague expression de *litus saxonicum*, on bâtit tout le roman d'une invasion anglaise venue de Boulogne."

Dr. Ehmer has undertaken to shed further light on the problem by an approach along phonological lines. First he observes that whereas in Britain place-names in *ing* become less numerous as we move from east to west, those in *ingtun* are fairly equally distributed all over the country.

² "Aucun texte historique ne signale l'installation des Saxons en Boulonnais." (F. Lot, *Les Migrations Saxonnes en Gaule et en Grande-Bretagne*, *Revue historique*, 119 (1915), 23.)

³ *Studien over Nederlandsche Namenkunde* (Haarlem, 1900), 102 ff. I am indebted to Mr. A. J. Schreuder, of Oosterbeek, for drawing my attention to this book, and for lending me his copy.

⁴ *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen* (Strassburg, 1905), 566 ff.

⁵ *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1935), 15 ff.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, 24 ff. Lot's summary of Hoops's argument contains several inaccuracies.

His conclusion (which is not entirely original) is that the latter belong to a later period than the former, and must have arisen some time after the Conquest. As the French *ingtun*-names are of the same class ('Klasse') as the English ones, they must have been formed at about the same time. A date before the Conquest therefore seems to be out of the question.

This preliminary argument is followed by an investigation into the effect, if any, of *i*-mutation on place-names in *ingtun*. Dr. Ehmer begins by ascertaining *a*) that the *ing*-suffix was capable of causing umlaut, *b*) that place-names were capable of being umlauted. In support of *a*, he refers to Bülbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 160 h): "in Ableitungssilben, z.B. -il, -ir, -in, -i, -ing usw."; *b* is allowed to rest on four etymologies in Zachrisson's *Romans, Kelts, and Saxons in Ancient Britain*, p. 61. He then examines the ancient forms of the names of the villages near Boulogne and finds that most of them react negatively; that four of them are dubious; and that none of them require the assumption of umlaut for their etymology. On the hypothesis that these names are pre-Conquest, and the inevitable corollary that *i*-mutation did not operate among the Saxons in Gaul, we must assign the English names, which belong to the same stratum ('Schicht'), to the very earliest period of the colonisation of Britain. Umlaut in insular (Anglo-)Saxon is generally supposed to have operated in the course of the sixth century. If Hoops's theory is correct, the English names must, therefore, show umlaut. But do they?

To make sure, Dr. Ehmer has collected all the *ingtun*-names from vols. I-XII of the English Place-Name Society, with their etymologies. The result is similar to that obtained with the French names: the majority show no umlaut, a few are doubtful, not a single form can be explained by *i*-umlaut only. The English names and the settlements they denote cannot, therefore, be older than the seventh, or at most the middle of the sixth century; and by hypothesis the same must apply to those near Boulogne. "Die Ortschaften sind nicht sächsische sondern angelsächsische Siedlungen." As Mansion had put it: "Si les noms de lieu prouvent quelque chose, c'est que l'on a parlé anglais aux environs de Boulogne."

In his last chapters Dr. Ehmer examines the effect of *i*-mutation on place-names in final *ing*, and the archaeological evidence concerning the 'Saxon' settlements in Gaul. Confining himself to the *ing*-names of Sussex, he finds ten or eleven certainly umlauted names on a total of forty-four, which confirms him in his view of the priority of *ing*-names to those in *ingtun*. The archaeological evidence, such as it is, appears to preclude the possibility of pre-Conquest settlement. Hoops's theory, therefore, stands refuted; the main current of Saxon migration must have crossed the North Sea direct from north-west Germany to the Wash and the mouth of the Thames.

Has Dr. Ehmer proved his case? His basic assumption, that the *tun*-names on either side of the Channel belong to the same 'class' or 'stratum', and that what is true of the insular group must also apply to the Continental one, has at any rate common sense in its favour, though the author might well have been a little more explicit about it. His phonological test, however, the operation of *i*-umlaut in place-names, is of doubtful validity. What if it should turn out that we have no irrefutable evidence of umlaut in *ing*-names any more than for those in *ingtun*? Obviously the main part

of the argument would fall to the ground; yet such is unfortunately the case. Dr. Ehmer has ransacked the first twelve volumes of the EPNS for names in *ingtun*, but to his undoing he has apparently failed to pay close attention to the *ing*-names in the Sussex volume. If he had, this is what he would have found on p. 235 of the latter (Part I), s.v. *Steyning* (oldest recorded form *æt Stæningum* c. 880):

This name offers difficulties. As Ekwall notes (PN in *-ing* 62-3) OE pers. names with a first element *Stān-* are not on record. If we have a patronymic here we should probably have to take it that it was derived from a pet-form based on the second element of a pers. name. Such are found, but there is the further and much greater difficulty that if this is the case we have *what is probably not found elsewhere, viz. a patronymic in OE showing i-mutation of the stem-vowel under the influence of the suffix.*⁸ Such *i*-mutation however is not impossible or indeed unlikely if we take the name instead to be an *ingas*-derivative of the common word *stān*, ... The geological conditions unfortunately are not decisive.

Dr. Ehmer, like Ekwall, derives most of his 'mutated' *ing*-names from names of persons, though he also makes mention of Zachrisson's topographical explanations. His own etymologies, however, are hardly likely to cause the editors of the Place-Name Society to revise their opinion. The author states that he has taken the names from Ekwall's Place-Names in *-ing*, adding: "Die Art der Untersuchung ist die gleiche wie bei den *-ingtun*-namen." On p. 27, apropos of the latter, he had declared that he mainly relied on the results of the Place-Name Society. How the conclusions listed below were obtained does not appear; certainly neither Ekwall nor the EPNS would care to assume responsibility for them.

Ferring, which heads the list as the only form in singular *ing* (the others are all originally plurals in *ingas*), is said to be from OE *fōr* (sic); Ekwall, PN in *ing*, observes: "Perhaps it is derived from OE *fearr* 'bull' or a pers. name **Fearr* identical with it." According to PNS(ussex) 168, "the history of the name is probably that given by Ekwall (PN in *-ing* 43-4) for *Feering* (Ess), viz. that it is from OE *Fēringas*, with the same stem that is found in OE *fēre*, *gefēra*." On p. 44 of PN in *-ing* we find: "*Fēringas* may be a derivative of the stem **fōr-* in OE *fōr* 'journey', *fēre* 'fit for service'." This last statement looks like being the source of Dr. Ehmer's etymology, though Ekwall obviously does not mean to say that *Fēringas* is a direct derivative from *fōr*. In his Dictionary of English Place-Names he also equates *Ferring* with *Feering*, and comments on the latter: "Possibly OE *Fēringas*, a derivative from a pers. n. formed from the adj. *fēre* 'fit for service' or derived direct from *fēre*."

Didling, according to Dr. Ehmer, is from the proper name *Dudel*. Ekwall derives it "from OE *Dyddel* or the like; cf. OE *Dudd* etc., pers. n." PNS 34 agrees; Ekwall's Dict. also has '*Dyddel*'s people.'

Fletching. Ehmer: "Ekwall (p. 57) nimmt als Basis einen ae. PN an, der mit ahd. *Flaco* zusammenhängt, also etwa **Flæcca*. Sämtliche belegten Formen für *Fletching* zeigen e, das sich nur durch i-Umlaut erklären lässt." "Also etwa **Flæcca*" is Dr. Ehmer's own addition. PNS 345 gives: "The people of *Flecci*, ... a name allied to OGer *Flaco*." In his Dict., Ekwall still refrains from specifying the exact form of the OE base.

Guestling. Ehmer: "PN **Grystel*? vielleicht ae. *gorst*." Ekwall, PN in *-ing*: "The etymology ... is obscure." PNS 508-9, like Ekwall, identifies the name with *Gestingthorpe* (Ess) and concludes: "Both alike point to a pers. name *Grystel*,

⁸ Our italics.

Gyrstel, originally of a nick-name type, related to OE *gristel* and *grost* both found for 'gristle.' Hence 'Gyrstel's people.'" Ekwall, Dict., s.v. Gestingthorpe, derives the name from *Gyrstlingas*, adding: "The origin of the folk-name *Gyrstlingas* is obscure."

Harting. Ehmer: "PN Hort." Ekwall, PN in *-ing*: "The base is no doubt a pers. n. *Heort*." PNS 35: "The people of Heort." Ekwall, Dict.: '*Heorot*'s people.'

Hastings. Ehmer: "PN *Häst (got. haifsts, ahd. haist > häst + i-umlaut)." Ekwall, PN in *-ing*: "The ultimate base is OE *hæst* 'violence', *hæst* 'violent, severe'." PNS 534 and Introd. xxiv proposes no etymology. Ekwall, Dict.: "The name is derived from a pers. n., probably *Hæsta* ... *Hæsta* is derived from OE *hæst* 'violence', *hæst* 'violent'."

Lancing. Ehmer: "Wlencingas von ae. *wlanc*." Ekwall, PN in *-ing*: "**Wlencingas* is derived from OE *wlanc* 'proud', very likely used as a pers. n., or a derivative of it, e.g. **Wlenca*." PNS 200: "People of *Wlencea* or *Wlanc* or *Hlanc*."

Peelings (?)¹⁰. Ehmer: "PN *Palla oder PN Pælli." Ekwall, PN in *-ing*: "Perhaps from OE *Pælli*, pers. n." PNS 448: "**Pydelingas*, i.e. 'people of *Pydel*.'" Ekwall, Dict.: "Probably identical with *Peatling*." Under the latter: "**Pēotla*'s people." **Peotla* is a diminutive of OE *Pēot* (*Piot*) pers. n."

Steyning. Ehmer: ae. "*stān* oder PN **Stān*." Ekwall, PN in *-ing*: "Steyning may well be derived from a pet form of names in *-stān*. But the base may also be OE *stān* 'stone' or *Stān*, pl. n." PNS 236: "... the exact significance of the name must remain unsettled." Ekwall, Dict.: "OE *Stāningas*, which may mean 'Stān's people' or 'dwellers at a stone'. The derivative in this case shows i-mutation. Of course it is possible that the immediate base had i-mutation."¹¹

Tarring. Ehmer: "PN Tora." Ekwall, PN in *-ing*: "*Teorringas*, I suppose, is a derivative of a pers. n. **Teorra*, which might well be a hypocoristic form of OE names in *Tir-* (*Tirwald*, *-wulf*). But it might also be a by-name formed from a base related to OE *teors*, lit. 'a peg'." PNS 194: "The people of *Teorra*, a name not recorded, but suggested by Ekwall." Ekwall, Dict.: "**Teorra*'s people." **Teorra* may be a short-form of names in *Tir-*."

Wartling. Ehmer: "PN *Wyrstel or PN *Wurtel." Ekwall, PN in *-ing*: "Wartling is no doubt a derivative of the pers. n. **Wyrstel* ... The base may be **Wurtila-*." PNS 483: "The people of Wyrstel." Ekwall, Dict.: 'Wyrstel's people.'

It will be clear to any informed reader that the above list does not yield a scrap of evidence in support of the view that the *ing*-suffix in place-names could cause umlaut¹². Wherever an *ing*-name with a front vowel in the stem-syllable can possibly be connected with some ultimate base containing *a*, *o* or *u*, the author has jumped to the conclusion that it is the *ing*-suffix that has caused the mutation. Ekwall's remark s.v. Steyning: "Of course it is possible that the *immediate* (our italics) base had *i*-mutation" — should have saved him from rash assertions. *Ferring* and *Feering* may be from an *immediate* base *fēre* (or from a pers. n. formed from it),

¹⁰ Author's query; doubtful instance of umlaut.

¹¹ Our italics.

¹² Ekwall (i.v. Lancing) admits the possibility of mutation caused by the *ing*-suffix in **Wlencingas* from *wlanc* 'proud', "very likely used as a pers. n.", though he adds "or a derivative of it." Of course, there is no *a priori* reason why *ing* in patronymics and place-names should not have caused umlaut; it is merely that we have no reasonably certain instances, and that Dr. Ehmer has failed to supply any. [On the question of *i*-mutation in continental (Germanic) place-names cf. Mansion, *Bulletin de la Commission Royale de Toponymie & Dialectologie* VI (1932), 32 f.]

which is from an ultimate base *fōr-; but surely that does not mean that the change $\bar{o} > \bar{e}$ is owing to the *ing*-suffix! And what is Dr. Ehmer's authority for *Hort* and *Tora* as bases of *Harting* and *Tarring*, to mention only these?

If, then, *i*-mutation cannot with certainty be demonstrated for place-names in *ing*, its absence from names in *ingtun* cannot be used as a chronological test, and the question of the Saxon settlements near Boulogne remains an open one. If we still prefer to think that the settlers came from Britain, it is because of Mansion's, not Ehmer's, arguments. We will not extend an already longish review by a recapitulation of the former; the reader who is interested in the matter will do well to turn to Tome xxx (1926) of the *Musée belge, Revue de Philologie classique*.¹³

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

Anglo-Norse Studies. An Inquiry into the Scandinavian Elements in the Modern English Dialects. By PER THORSON. Part I. xii + 101 pp. Amsterdam: N.V. Swets & Zeitlinger. 1936. Fl. 2.80.

The Scandinavian element in Middle English was dealt with in a masterly way by Erik Björkman in *Scandinavian Loan-words* (1900-1902). A study on similar lines of the Scandinavian loan-words in the modern dialects has long been a desideratum; it would form a valuable supplement to Björkman's work, for many words that were doubtless adopted early are not recorded in ME literature, and it is of interest to know to what extent Scandinavian loan-words have been preserved to our days. Wall's study of the subject in 1897 (*Anglia* XX) was valuable for its time, but is now antiquated. Xandry's book of 1914 does not meet modern requirements. Dr. Thorson, in the book under discussion here, has set himself the task of supplying the want.

Dr. Thorson has qualified himself for the task by previous studies in Scandinavian philology. He published a valuable book on a Norwegian dialect in 1929,¹ a book which shows intimate familiarity with Norwegian dialects and also with Scandinavian dialect literature generally. The copious illustrative material from such literature in the present book forms one of its most important features. Dr. Thorson has also had the advantage over his predecessors that he has been able to utilize Björkman's book, several new monographs on English dialects, and before all Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (EDD) and the completed *New English Dictionary*. The volume now published, which will be supplemented by a companion volume dealing with Lowland Scotch, is devoted to Scandinavian words

¹³ In his later article in the *Bulletin* etc. (see note 12) Mansion interprets *litus saxonicum* as the coast inhabited by Saxons, though he continues to reject Hoops's farther-reaching hypotheses, and to look on the original inhabitants of the *tun*-settlements as English.

¹ *Målet i Nordaust-Ryfylke*. Oslo, 1929.

in the dialects of England. It is based chiefly on EDD and may in fact be said to offer a survey of the Scandinavian material in EDD, supplemented by the help of other books dealing with English dialects. It need hardly be said that Dr. Thorson has used his sources in an independent way, and he often gives etymologies different from Wright's. The book may be said to contain a survey of the Scandinavian material in English dialects that is on the whole valuable and trustworthy, and which will be very helpful to fellow-students. But it is not the final word on the subject in the same way as Björkman's was on Middle English loan-words.

The material contains a total of some 650 words, arranged neatly in three groups, a. provable, b. probable, c. uncertain loan-words. Dr. Thorson here chiefly follows Björkman, but he deviates from him in making group c. a good deal smaller, which seems to me to be a step forward. In details the attribution of words to the three groups can be criticized. It is clear that *haaf*, *mail*, *wadmel*, *wapentake* (given under b.), to take a few examples, are provable loans. Some words under a. would have been better placed under c. Some of these will be discussed *infra*.

Scandinavian loan-words in English have been much discussed for many years, and it is only natural that most of the etymologies given for the words listed by Dr. Thorson have been suggested before by other scholars, Björkman, Wright and others. It would have been an advantage if the author had indicated in some way what etymologies are new, and as regards others where he has found them. This is not done, and it is therefore not quite easy to form an opinion on the extent to which the book is the outcome of original research. As a matter of fact there are not a few new etymologies, among them several good ones, but I do not think all are alike convincing. The correctness may sometimes be contested even of etymologies of what are called provable loans. Thus *lief-coup* 'auction' (p. 24) must be a Continental word; cf. Dutch *lijfkoop*, *litkoop* 'luckpenny' (see NED, s.v. *lyth-coop*). *Faugh* 'fallow' (p. 25) is obviously OE *fealg* the same, not from ON *fága* 'to clean, cultivate'. *Hawbaw* (*hawbuck*) 'a clumsy fellow' (p. 32) is derived from ON *haugbúi* 'dead man haunting the mound where he is interred'. NED derives *hawbuck* from *haw* 'hedge' and *buck* 'dandy'. I would take *hawbaw* to contain the word *beau*. The meaning would be 'rustic dandy'. The suffix *-lage* cannot represent ON *-leikr* (p. 35), and *thralage* (p. 51) is not from an ON **þrælleikr*, but a formation from *thrall* with the French suffix *-age* (as in *baronage*). Also in other cases the author has overlooked phonological difficulties. He derives *lowk* 'a sharp fellow' (p. 36) from Norw. *lauk*, lit. 'leek', which seems possible, but he also identifies *lowk* with Chaucer's *louke* 'accomplice', which rhymes with *souke* 'suck' (OE *sūcan*). ON *au* cannot have given ME *ū*. *Oula* (in phrase *fare thee well O.*) p. 38 he takes to be the ON pers. name *Olaf*r, but ON *ō* would not normally give *ū* in Yks. dial. *Owlas* 'indifferent' (p. 39) is pronounced *ou:ləs*. The word is derived from Norw. *ulyst* 'weary', but it is doubtful if the diphthong [ou] can be from *ū*. A guess of mine that *owlas* might be a combination of OE *hogu* 'care' and the suffix *lēas* (cf. Swed. *håglös* 'listless' and OE *hogfull* 'solicitous') has received welcome support from the byname (Richard) *Hogheles* in a Somerset Subsidy Roll of 1327.

The list of words is not complete. I would add among others *ding* vb. (OSwed. *diunga*, ODan. *dinge*), *graip* 'fork', *intake* 'enclosure' (OSwed.

inntaka), *odd* 'headland', *segg* 'sedge', *segg* 'castrated animal' (Swed dial. *sigg*, Dan dial. *sæg*), *skirth* 'drain' (ODan *skyrdh*), *wig* 'wall' (ON *veggr*). I miss forms that go back to ME *grā*, *strā* (OScand *grār* 'grey', *strā* 'straw'); cf. e.g. Reaney, *Dial. of Penrith*. The important form *pismour*, -*moor* (ON *maurr*) has been overlooked under *pismire*, though it is duly given by Wright and Reaney (*op. cit.*).

The introduction is very brief (pp. 1-19). It deals with a variety of questions, but goes deeply into none. The principles for the selection of words are not clearly stated. Words also found in Standard English are generally omitted, but some (as *bleak*, *cow* vb., *egg*, *flit*, *handsel*) are given. The statistical part is interesting, but we are never told clearly on what principles the statistics have been made. The figures for Norfolk and Suffolk can hardly be quite correct. Those for the Southern counties are remarkably high, but probably some of the words are here to be looked upon as belonging to Standard English. Some of the words are doubtful etymologically or otherwise. Thus *fish scales* 'fish-market' in Cornwall cannot contain ON *skáli* 'hut'; it would have become *scole*. No doubt *scale* is identical with *scale* 'landing-place' from OFr *escale* (see *scale*⁷ in NED). Some of Wright's statements might have been looked into more closely. He gives *holm* from Somerset, but his only examples are the place-names Flatholme, Steepholme, which are old Scandinavian place-names (see *Introd. to the Survey of Engl. Place-names*, p. 79 f.).

The chapter on phonology is too short. A careful study of the phonology of dialects is really a necessary preparation for the etymological study of dialect words. The chapter on the whole only summarizes the phonological remarks in the etymological part. I must take exception to the statement that OE *hold* 'a freeman' is not from ON *hōldr*. The objection raised is that *hōldr* was originally *hōlðr*, and ON *stulðr* has given Engl *stouth*. But *ld* in *hold* is easily explained as due to sound-substitution for *|lð|*, a combination not found in Old English. *Stouth* followed the analogy of abstracts such as *mirth*, *strength* and had the substitution *|lp|* for Scand *|lð|*.

In the section on Scandinavian provenience the author tries to prove that most Scandinavian loan-words in English come from Norwegian, not from Danish. I do not think the arguments in favour of this view are convincing, but I may have another opportunity of going into this question and leave it alone here.

The preceding remarks have been mainly of a critical nature, but they should not be taken to imply that the book does not possess considerable merits. Dr. Thorson's study means a real step forward, and his book, though it leaves something to be desired in certain respects, is a helpful contribution. It is to be hoped that he will go on with his work and bring out the projected second part and perhaps finally give us a comprehensive study of Scandinavian loan-words in English dialects.

Lund.

EILERT EKWALL.

Syr Tryamowre, a metrical romance, with introduction, glossary and notes, door A. J. ERDMAN SCHMIDT. x + 161 pp. Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon. 1937. f 4.25.

Dr. A. J. Erdman Schmidt has provided us with a welcome edition of the ME. metrical romance of *Syr Tryamowre*, contained in MS. Ff. II. 38, preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge. In a very short introduction she gives us a description of the MS., discusses briefly the different editions of this text, speaks in a few words of the metre and finishes with a description of the present edition. The introduction is followed by a chapter devoted to the grammar of the text. This is entitled *Phonology* but actually includes also the Scandinavian element, the French element and the Accidence. After this chapter are placed the text, some brief notes, a complete rhyme-index including an index of 'impure rhymes' (a very useful piece of apparatus), a full glossary with etymons, an index of names and a bibliography.

Dr. Erdman Schmidt is concise and clear, and her apparatus, on the whole, adequate. But at certain points greater fulness of reference and treatment would have been desirable. Thus the introduction is too brief. The author presents the romance she is studying as if it was quite unique in its *genre*, though in fact it belongs to a well-known and definite group of romances written in tail-rhyme stanzas and probably deriving from East Anglia. More also might have been said with profit about the metre. No conclusions are drawn from the statistics of the rhymes, both pure and impure, that are presented. In particular we miss any indication that the author used or considered the articles on the tail-rhyme romances published by A. McL. Trounce in *Medium Ævum* (1932-33) or the same writer's edition of *Athelston* (*Publications of the Philological Society*, XI, 1933).¹ These works are not mentioned in the bibliography.

In the presentation of her text, Dr. Erdman Schmidt follows normal editorial custom: the punctuation, capitalisation, and word-divisions are in general those of the editor not of the MS., yet certain obvious and necessary emendations (as *owre* for *yowre*, 1006) are made only in foot-notes; some MS. contractions and omissions of letters are expanded or supplied in italics (to the detriment of the appearance of the page), though others, such as numeral signs are left unexpanded. For this procedure, Dr. Erdman Schmidt can hardly be blamed and it will probably be generally approved; but we personally wish that she had broken with illogical custom and presented either a clear and edited text, with all aberrations from the MS. relegated to foot-notes (after the manner of Tolkien and Gordon's *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*), or else a strictly diplomatic text faithful to the MS. In any case her text is not as she claims 'an exact reproduction of the MS.' (p. 3).

Turning to the philological section, the author has analysed the language conscientiously, basing her study on the standard works of Luick, Jordan and Wyld. This part of her work, combined with the rhyme-index, is in general sound and useful. But there are occasional errors showing inadvertence or confusion. The paragraphs dealing with OE. *ǣ* and *æ* are probably too brief and certainly not wholly clear. The complex developments of Old and Middle English are rather hastily passed over, though this may be excused on the ground that this text presents nothing

remarkable or for the period abnormal. We do not, however, follow the statement that such a (normal) ME. form as *harde* may refer to OE. *hārd* or else to shortening again before the change of *ea* > *æ*. Plainly, if OE. *heard* had proceeded to *hēard* and thence by late OE. monophthongisation > *hærd*, subsequent re-shortening *hærd*, (after the change of *ea* > *æ*) would have produced *hard*, in common with the general change of *ǣ* (of various origins) to *ǣ*: ME *lasse* less, *gratter* greater, *ladde* led. — On p. 22 the *e* in *togedur* (whence modern standard *together*) is due to a special change of *gæ* > *ge* (and in some regions further > *gi*.) It is thus a normal development of OE. *to-gædere*. There is no need to call in any extraneous influence to explain the stop *g*. **gaduri* > *gadyri* > *gædiri* > *gædere* in which *g* is preserved before original *a* (later mutated to *æ* before *y/i*): hence *gæ* not *gea* in WS. Cf. *gædeling* (**gaduling*) > ME. *gedling*; *gærs* > *gers* (*girs*). The rare aberrant OE. forms (as *togadore*, Andreas) cited p. 22 are not concerned — they are possibly due to the influence of the unmutated uninflected *gador*, *ongador*, *geador* (with Mercian mutation). — § 3. OE. *ēa* does not appear in *yate* which derives from OE. *gæt*, pl. *gatu*. OE. *geat* cited in the glossary as etymon is a purely WS. form.

The distinction made in the etymons between OE. (presumably meaning WS.) and Anglian is not always successfully carried out. Many of the forms cited as OE. are equally Anglian. Some are not WS. at all as *ylc* (which is in fact the VPs. form), some of the forms labelled Anglian are not specifically Anglian: as *niht*, *æلميht(ig)*. The ON. etymons seem as satisfactory as is possible in so concise a glossary, but occasionally one may question the attribution to Norse e.g. *nere* < ON. *nær* rhyming with *there* 866, or expect some explanation in such a case as *wonys* < ON. *ván*.

It would seem ungracious (to a welcome and carefully composed work) if we set out at length the many other minor points which we feel open to criticism: we will only mention a few: *oft*, *wel* do not contain the same adverbial inflexion as that seen in OE. *sona* (*sone*), *þrīga* (*þryes*): it is therefore misleading to say that "OE. *a* had already disappeared in *wel*, *oft*". *anoyed* (p. 28) has not OFr. *oi* from *au* + *i*, but OFr. *oi/uei* from *ō* + *i* (*inōdiāre*). *realme/deme* are classified as impure rhymes although they should have been quoted under "impure rhymes that may be restored", for *realme* has been substituted for *rēme*, a common ME. form of 'realm'.

fone is not OE. pl. *fāne*. This is obviously a misprint for there is no such form as OE. *fāne*. The pl. of OE. *ge-fā* is *ge-fān*.

\bar{a}^1 and \bar{a}^2 are used respectively of the product of mutation (from *ā*) and of OE. *ǣ*, *ē* (from WG. *ā*). It must be admitted that this numeration is still often used, and confusion in this point is common; but since mutated \bar{a} is certainly secondary and later, we could wish that the more logical numeration \bar{a}^2 (for mutation of *ā*), \bar{a}^1 (for WG *ā*) could now be adopted by all phonologists.

Although the present review has been occupied mainly with the detailing of faults (most of which are of a minor kind), this edition in fact compares favourably in care and accuracy with many contemporary editions of Middle English texts and will replace with advantage the now antiquated and not readily accessible edition of Halliwell.

Geschichte der englischen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Von WALTER SCHIRMER. vii and 679 pp. 8°. Halle a.d. Saale: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 1937. RM. 18,—; Lwd. gbd. RM. 20,—.

A concise history of English literature on scientific principles for the student as well as for the general reader has long been a desideratum in Central Europe. The admirable work of Legouis and Cazamian, written in French and adapted into English, is a monument of Gallic insight, sensibility and formative power, but it has a frankly Latin bias and shows little regard and less sympathy for the Germanic element in the English mind. The more welcome, even indispensable a presentation of the literary development of England from such an angle is, the more a picture from the opposite angle was bound to be called for, and that has been supplied with gratifying success by the author of the book here under review.

Professor Schirmer, who represents English literary history at the university of Berlin, combines the virtues of the German scientific tradition with an open mind for modern thought and a fine sense of literary values. Every line of his book shows the exact grasp of facts that distinguishes the older school of German research and this sense of clean workmanship even pervades the printing of the book; hardly a printer's error is to be detected in its many hundreds of large and closely-set pages. At the same time there is hardly a line that does not show the vivid and intimate knowledge the author possesses of the books and writers he describes. A short sentence, a phrase or even merely a word can lift a literary work — the modest imitation as well as the great master-piece — above the level of the hand-book catalogue and give it a living individuality. This gift of terse and vivid formulation was, however, a prerequisite for the handling of such a wealth of books within such narrow limits. In a little more than half the space the French book occupies Schirmer has succeeded in bringing into his discussion considerably more titles and authors than Legouis and Cazamian.¹ Consequently, the condensation of style is extreme and the language is put to its utmost capacity in crowding facts and thoughts. That does not make for elegance or even lucidity of style. Many passages require a careful second reading, whilst others are heavily freighted with names and titles. That is the price that has to be paid for a wealth of material that no other book of its kind and size has to offer. But it is willingly paid by the interested reader since in spite of its muscular weight the book remains, on the whole, readable.

The condensation of style goes with an equally economical distribution of the contents. The book is tightly constructed and carefully balanced. The great epochs are marked off with little attempt at new lines of separation; the only exception is the inclusion of the Fifteenth Century in the Renaissance, a step which the author himself, to be sure, is obliged practically to retract in his text. The unity of the intellectual movements of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries is emphasised by including them under the single heading: Barock und Klassizismus, while the Nineteenth Century is likewise taken into a single chapter entitled:

¹ Under the letter P alone his index lists twenty names and thirty titles not mentioned in Legouis and Cazamian, while the latter have eight names and one title not contained in the German index.

Romantik und Realismus, — innovations that will find no serious objections. The emphasis placed on various epochs and aspects of an epoch is characteristic of the author's outlook upon the whole. Schirmer devotes twice as much space as Legouis and Cazamian to the Anglo-Saxon period and the first centuries after the Norman Conquest, a time when the Germanic character of English literature was paramount or at least decisive; while the Fourteenth Century is treated with about the same weight in both books. But there is a marked difference in the treatment. Of the 47 pages devoted to it by Schirmer, eight only are reserved for Chaucer, while the French authors give him a full half of their space. For them, the great personality stands out from the stream of minor historical factors and is not submerged by them. That gives their book a dynamic outline, a contour, that the German book lacks. The only poet who receives anything like a full individual treatment is Shakespeare, and even Milton has to be satisfied with half as much as the great dramatist's twenty pages and the same space that is allotted to the clergymen of his age.

Obviously, the broad stream of intellectual development with its numerous minor figures and even anonymous productions is more important for the German historian than the individual great writer and it is here, in the middle of the current, that Schirmer is at home and the characteristic value of his book lies. His picture of the intellectual life of the England of Henry II. is a masterpiece in its way, though it is comparatively remote from the main theme of the work, and the development of English humanism in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth centuries is his own particular contribution to our knowledge of English literary history. It is in such passages as these that his fine and vivid sense of organic continuity, the essential faculty of the historian that the method demands, becomes apparent. Fundamentally, it is an eye for essentials that counts here, the gift of picking out the factors of a movement and the qualities of a literary figure that give them a place in the current. One might quote a dozen sharply drawn, carefully outlined and consummately balanced partial portraits in the book, the men of second and third rank like Skelton, Gray, Chatterton, Dr. Johnson, etc. usually turning out better than the great figures. And it is done not only with a sure but with a gentle hand as well. No figure is maimed or wantonly detracted or otherwise ignobly treated. There is a pervading spirit of understanding and forbearance in every page. The extremely favourable light in which Pope is drawn may be a sign of the times, but it argues a fine and sympathetic understanding of a man whose output in true poetry stands in no relation to his poetical capacity. And something similar might be said of the pages on Byron, whose star is at present at the opposite pole to that of Pope. Both men were poetical journalists and Byron felt the affinity. But while the classicist was essentially a true poet, the romantic was at bottom a man of action; both points are not lost in Schirmer's presentation.

The refreshing combination of objective loyalty to facts and a thoroughly personal outlook naturally does not preclude the inevitable leanings on the important results of other scholars. The spirit of Heusler is as apparent in the pages on Anglo-Saxon literature as that of Dibelius in those on the Eighteenth Century novel and of Fehr in various phases of Nineteenth Century literature. English and American research is less in evidence —

which may be fitting in an exemplary German book. Thus there is no trace of Hodgson's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, though the book figures in the bibliography; Manly's suggestion that Chaucer was educated at the Inner Temple is disregarded; Adams' revival of the tradition that Shakespeare was a schoolmaster before he turned up at Burbage's Theatre is ignored; and the statement on page 243 f. that the quartos were "zumeist Raubdrucke" is at least misleading after the work done by Greg and Pollard.

Errors of fact are rare. Chaucer was not "Oberaufseher der Zölle im Londoner Hafen" (page 147), but had only one among several departments in his charge. Mallet (page 404) was from Geneva and not a Frenchman. Defoe's *True-born Englishman* (page 419) was written in defence of, not as an attack on William III. Crabbe (page 476) was not a popular success like Scott, but he certainly took his place among the leading poets of the day, even in the eyes of the romantic leaders. While Rogers was never more than a popular poet of the second rank. The dear friends in Coleridge's poem *This Lime-tree Bower* (page 480) were the Lambs. On page 484 the chronological sequence is slightly blurred. When Wordsworth, in the first edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, developed his new realism he hardly had Crabbe in mind, who had been silent for almost twenty years after the appearance of his short and polemically spirited *Village*. His fame rested on the *Parish Register*, which appeared years after the *Lyrical Ballads*. Wordsworth's period of great poetical fertility was hardly "eingeleitet", a year after it began, by the journey to Germany! And the dates of his poems are slightly misleading, dates of publication not being distinguished from dates of conception and the *Poems in Two Volumes* of 1807 being listed as a separate collection, whereas it was merely a new edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* with Coleridge thrown out and Wordsworth's new poems added. That the growing influence of Milton on Keats (page 499) should become apparent in the growing sharpness of contour in the latter's blank verse is doubtful, since Milton's own blank verse has no such sharp contour.

That, however, is a matter of interpretation, and it stands to reason that a work so replete with matter should offer plenty of opportunity for differences of opinion on this score. Many of the small omissions and inaccuracies are undoubtedly due to lack of space and the necessity for terseness. The comparison of Layamon and Wace, e.g., leaves entirely out of consideration Immelmann's findings that Layamon most probably used a Norman redaction of Wace that was longer than the original and that he looked into Gaimar and other sources as well. (Fehr's suggestion.) In the discussion of Shakespeare's plays much of recent research and criticism is left out of account. *Henry VI.* is accepted as entirely by Shakespeare with no reference to the position of Part I to the other two. The *Contention* and the *True Tragedy* are not mentioned at all, though there is a whole chapter on the apocrypha, in which the misstatement (page 264) should be corrected that the printer of *Lucrece* placed Shakespeare's name on the title page in 1595. In the discussion of Defoe his imagination and the innate romanticism which underlay his realistic method — his stories all play on the outskirts of human society and the inhabited world — might have been mentioned, while the essential defect of his novels obviously is their lack of dramatic plot. When

Richardson began his novels twenty years later the drama had already become a staple reading matter among the classes that wanted a dramatic stimulus but refused to go to the theatre, and the "little printer" himself drew his dramatic knowledge and experience from reading printed plays. *Pamela* is highly dramatic, and *Clarissa* even more so, and *Grandison* falls off because its dramatic structure is weaker than that of the other two novels. Fielding was an experienced dramatist when he entered the field of fiction, and the basis laid by these two men was never left by later novelists for any length of time. A case might be made out for the view that the dramatic quality of the English novel undermined the need for a literary drama on the stage, which did not revive till the novel had reached its dotage and began to show signs of decay early in the 1890's. Why is the catchword "sentimental" (empfindsam) retained in connection with Richardson? It certainly puts the wrong stress on his work, which is much more realistic in spirit than that of Defoe. In the chapter on the Romantics Scott is placed before Southey and Coleridge. That, of course, expresses the essentially conservative spirit of his work, but it is a little awkward since so much of it is indebted to the example of the younger men who published before him. Southey and not Scott began the verse tale of the Romantic generation, and even the *Ancient Mariner* is more of a tale than a ballad. Scott's novels are really such tales expressed in prose; *Marmion* is a miniature Waverley Novel, with the historical figures kept in the background and the hero essentially a fiction.

But such and numerous other remarks that might be made are very much by the way. It is different with a quality of the work that meets one almost on every page. It is full of splendid analyses of books and philosophies, but hardly a single personality stands out in the round. The thought of Coleridge and Wordsworth e.g. is admirably presented, but the men themselves, their personal characteristics, the individualities out of which their thought grew, are left completely in the shadows. Yet the friendship that formed the backbone of the English romantic movement and lasted just ten years should not be so lightly passed over. Gray's poetry is brought in relation to that of Pope, as it should in a history of this kind. Yet a fuller view of Gray's personality, his constitutional melancholy, his complete immersion in books and his exceptional command of classical languages would throw a light on his poetry that is too weak or entirely lacking in Schirmer's presentation and would incidentally show that Gray's relation to the ancients was much closer than his relation to Pope, whose knowledge of Greek and Latin was meagre. Literature as the expression of personalities is not Schirmer's affair, it seems. It is rather a continuous stream moving across the ages and obeying laws of its own without much regard to the men that created it and the circumstances that determined its flow. The Anglo-Saxon settlement is presented in Bede's version, dates and all, while the results of recent archaeological research as incorporated in Hodgson's book would have given a much fuller and more accurate picture; but they are ignored. The transition from the Old English to the Middle English period is treated without mention of the sociological shifting involved in the Conquest beyond the changes in state and church. In the Sixteenth Century the rise of a new aristocracy is mentioned, but its peculiar relation to Renaissance literature is ignored. Likewise the part London as a great metropolis played in the development of the professional theatre is

passed over, though the opposition of the town authorities is not forgotten. The historical "links" are sometimes inaccurate. It was not Raleigh (page 198) but Drake who was knighted after circumnavigating the globe, and it was not a Disraeli-Salisbury (page 513) but a Derby ministry that preceded Gladstone's first cabinet. The Reform Bill of 1832 was only the beginning of the process attributed to it alone (page 513), namely the shifting of power from the landed governing class to the middle classes in the towns. Actually, the country gentleman still held the whip-hand in Parliament till the second reform bill of 1867.

There is no doubt that this lack of perspective deprives the work of colour, outline and movement. A more vivid sense of the English people behind their literature could only have enhanced the value of an otherwise first class piece of work and one would gladly miss a number of the titles in order to gain space for more humanity. But in spite of this limitation, the only one of importance to be observed, Schirmer's history of English literature promises to be the standard hand-book on the subject in the German language for the next generation.

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

A Short Life of Shakespeare with the sources. Abridged by CHARLES WILLIAMS from Sir EDMUND CHAMBERS's *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*. 260 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1933. 5/—.

This handy little book is an abridgement of the larger work by Sir E. K. Chambers, published in 1930 in two volumes, which was reviewed in vol. XV, no. 1 of this journal by Mr. J. Kooistra. I may therefore hold myself excused from a detailed discussion of the many problems that present themselves, for which the reader is referred to the earlier review. The shorter work is very cleverly done. All the great scholar's opinions are there, and all the facts. The controversial matter has been largely suppressed, as this shorter work was meant for the general reader, not the specialist. We get an account of Shakespeare's Warwickshire origin, of his company, of the publication, authenticity and chronology of the plays and of the Sonnets. The fact that strikes one most is how little we know with certainty. We know next to nothing of Shakespeare's youth and early upbringing, nothing of his marriage, except that it was a hasty one. Of what he did and where he lived in the years between 1584 and 1592 there is only the rumour of a doubt. In the latter year he suddenly emerges as a dramatist and actor (Greene's allusion), after which he again disappears for two years. The supposed journey to Italy has never yet been proved. We know nothing of the books he possessed, nor do we know with certainty whether he was a good or only an indifferent actor. He may have died a Catholic, but we have no proof. We possess no authentic portrait. The dark lady of the Sonnets is still as dark as ever. There is no absolute certainty about the chronology of many of the

all rhymed verse pointed to an early date for a play. But even this test is taken from us. Says Sir Edmund: "Substantially, the medium of Shakespeare's models (earlier Elizabethan plays) was blank verse. The rhyme of the lyric plays represents a fresh start and not a looking backwards." The conclusion is obvious: if rhyme was a deliberate experiment on Shakespeare's part, he may have made it at any point of his career, not necessarily at the beginning. A minor fact which in the reviewer's opinion has never been satisfactorily explained is the remarkable one that the players suffered nothing on account of the performance of *Richard II*, which they gave at the request of some of the followers of the Earl of Essex "as a prelude to his misguided outbreak of 8 February, 1601." Is it sufficiently accounted for by Elizabeth's personal liking for Shakespeare's art, or by the protection the players may have enjoyed from the Lord Chamberlain? And if *Richard II* was played 40 times in open streets and houses, as Queen Elizabeth complained, why was it not suppressed?

Sir Edmund Chambers has always been opposed to the "disintegration" of the canon, as perpetrated by J. M. Robertson and others, and he is of course a little authoritative in declaring that "the great majority of the plays are Shakespeare's from beginning to end, and that, broadly speaking, when he had once written them, he left them alone." But then, he makes out a very good case for himself in that excellent passage where he explains what sense of style is, what it is capable of doing for us, and what are its limits. It may be applied, when once acquired, to a play as a whole, or to longer passages, but not to single lines or short bits of dialogue. A study of parallels with the conclusions derived therefrom, may easily be carried ad absurdum.

On the whole I am more inclined to accept the author's scepticism than to quarrel with his unwillingness to accept "facts". What are most of these facts, if critically examined? How often have we not to use words like perhaps, probably, it may be true, to safeguard ourselves against rash conclusions? Unlike Hamlet the student of Shakespeare knows a great many "seems". Really, if one thinks of the meagre results which more than two hundred years' diligent search for facts has yielded, we may be thankful to an author who presents them to us such as they are, unaccompanied by his personal conclusions. But even the most matter-of-fact of scholars gives his fancy the reins sometimes. There are "dropped threads" in Shakespeare's plays, references are made to personages who do not appear at all, and whom we might reasonably have expected to put in an appearance. One school of critics takes these "dropped threads" to be indications of cutting and abridgement. Most of us look upon them as instances of carelessness or haste on the part of the author. Chambers thinks: "In these and in countless other cases, we have probably a deliberate dramatic device. Persons and incidents are alluded to, but kept out of the action. The effect is one of solidity, as if life were passing on all the time behind the stage."

In the appendices, which together form nearly one half of the book, we are glad to find all the authentic records concerning the christenings, marriages and burials in Shakespeare's family, the grant of arms, the marriage-licence, the will, Shakespeare's residences in London, the Bellott-Mountjoy suit, the Quiney correspondence, performances at court and

elsewhere. We also find a complete collection of contemporary allusions to Shakespeare or his works, as Greene's Shake-scene passage, Meres's famous list of plays, Harvey's allusion to *Hamlet*, Ben Jonson's lines and many others. Lastly we find the origins of the various Shakespeare anecdotes. There are also a list of the principal dates, a pedigree of Shakespeare and Arden, and a subject-index of eight pages.

Amsterdam.

H. DE GROOT.

Shakespeare's Hamlet, Engelsch en Nederlandsch tegenover elkaar. Door Dr. J. DECROOS. 354 pp. Kortrijk: Steenlandt. 1936. Belg. fr. 15,—.

The English text and Dutch (Flemish) translation on parallel pages. The translation is a very careful, and in many places also an elegant one. It is a scholarly translation by a poet. Dr. Decroos writes very readable blank verse, with rhyming couplets at the close of scenes. The prose passages, even Osric's euphuism, are admirably done. Here and there the reader is surprised by some very felicitous expression. Here are a few.

assail your ears = *stormloopen op uw ooren*
 in the gross and scope of my opinion = *zoo naar mijn gemeenen indruk*
 confine = *banpaal*
 it faded on the crowing of the cock = *verijlde 't*
 out of the shot and danger of desire = *schotvrij, ver van begeertes hinderlaag*
 like sweet bells jangled = *lijk een ontstemden beiaard*
 divinity doth hedge a king = *godlijkheid omhaagt een vorst*
 we must speak by the card = *we moeten de puntjes op de i's zetten*

I am less enthusiastic about:

I am sick at heart = *'k voel me naar*
 break thee off = *Hoû op*
 majestic = *majesteitvol*
 for if the king like not the comedy = *want heeft de koning lak aan mijn vertooning*

These show a falling off in a style which, as I said above, is generally good.

Lastly I would suggest a few corrections where in my opinion the Dutch text does not convey the same idea as the original. My suggestions are in brackets.

moiety competent = *wedijvend staatsgebied* (evenredig deel)
 carriage of the article designed = *de draagkracht van bewust artikel* (de strekking van genoemd artikel)
 portentous figure = *nare schim* (onheilspellende schim)
 auspicious = *heilspellend* (blij)
 colleague with the dream of his advantage = *met den droom tot bondgenoot dat zulks zijn voordeel is* (tezamen met de illusie dat hij de sterkste van ons tweeën is)
 laboursome petition = *lastig vragen* (langdurig aandringen)
 unmastered importunity = *indringerige onstuimigheid* (onstuimig aandringen)
 dalliance = *vreugd* (minnekoozen)
 unnatural murder = *ongehoorde moord* (onnatuurlijke moord)
 meditation = *goddelijke extase* (gedachte)
 table-book = *brieven tasch* (same as *tables* of course = memorandum-book)

pious (chanson) = *bijbelsch (liedje)* (vroom or stichtelijk)

This man shall set me packing = *die man legt mij een last op* (die man stuurt mij de laan uit).

I do not think there is authority for the omission of *them* in III. 1. 60: And by opposing end *them*? It is in the Folio and in Q₂.

There are a small number of notes at the end of the book which are good.

I do not see for what class of readers the parallel text is meant. Those who know no English can read the translation. Those who know enough English to understand a modern English novel had better be given an English text with copious notes at the foot of the page. The notes can explain many things which remain dark even when translated. The reader who wants more than a superficial knowledge of a Shakespearean play, requires explanations at every step, even if English is his native language. Needless to say a translation, however well done, is but a poor substitute for the original. The only approach to a real study of Shakespeare is through the medium of an English text with a great many explanatory notes.

Amsterdam.

H. DE GROOT.

Der typisch puritanische Ideengehalt in Bunyans "Life and Death of Mr. Badman". Von WOLFGANG SACHS. 95 pp. Zwönitz i. Erzgeb. 1936.

Dr. Sachs, at the beginning of his dissertation, very sensibly remarks that the various groups of people whom we call Puritans were by no means united by common views on points of dogma but by the ideal of a thorough reformation of morals and manners. This ideal inspired the numerous bulky conduct-books of the 17th century, which, though composed by persons of different theological convictions, resemble each other very closely. Bunyan's *Life and Death of Mr. Badman* is given its place within the sphere of this literature, and its original traits — the use of a negative example, the relation of a definite person's biography in a dialogue, the moderately realistic tone — are duly noted. Then the doctrine taught in the little work is carefully analysed and compared with the ideas of some other Puritans. The chapter on the government of the family adds details to the knowledge of the subject which we have won from Professor Schücking's book.

Dr. Sachs has more to say, however, on Bunyan's attitude towards the economic life. He offers a competent account of the Puritan position generally, and tests, with the help of the *Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, Max Weber's exploded thesis of a direct connection between the spirit of Puritanism and the rise of capitalism. He corroborates J. B. Kraus' conclusion that the writers of the conduct-books all but revived the views of the medieval philosophers when regulating the world of business, and did their best to prevent the hunt for gain from becoming an end in itself. They raised numerous ethical barriers which a Puritan tradesman had to jump or circumvent in developing a capitalistic mentality, a task that

offered considerable difficulties even to Defoe's agile mind. Nevertheless, I suspect that we are not doing justice to Max Weber if we accept as valid no more than his observations on the usefulness of the Puritan method of living to the later utilitarians. There is truth also in the following remarks: "Wie sein eigenes Verhalten, so kontrollierte aber der spätere Puritaner auch dasjenige Gottes und sah in allen Einzelfügungen des Lebens seinen Finger. Und, im Gegensatz zu Calvins genuiner Lehre, wusste er daher, warum Gott diese oder jene Fügung traf"¹. And: "Was jene religiös lebendige Epoche des 17. Jahrhunderts ihrer utilitarischen Erbin vermachte, war aber eben vor allem ein ungeheuer gutes — sagen wir getrost: ein *pharisäisch* gutes — Gewissen beim Gelderwerb, wenn anders er sich nur in legalen Formen vollzog"². During the whole of the 17th century we observe a tendency among the Puritans, even if they adhered to the irrational dogma of predestination, to seek a rational understanding of the ways of God to men. As towards the close of the century the faith in unaided human reason won strength among Church people and Dissenters alike some of them began to play with a very comfortable view of God's justice: He loves and rewards the virtuous; he hates and punishes the sinners; and often the results of his attitude are visible in this world. Every reader of the Puritan literature will remember passages to the effect that the godly has the promise of this world as well as of that which is to come and also exhortations to unfortunate people to find out by what sins they may have caused their hardships³. Snug self-complacency towards one's successes, very helpful in the eager struggle for wealth, could spring from such convictions. All this does not suggest, of course, that the Puritan teaching directly favoured the development of the capitalistic spirit. Yet, by the side of the elements in the doctrine which hampered this development, there were others enabling a bustling Puritan tradesman, who had lost the true religious sense, to consider success in his business a supreme value and to believe, at the same time, that he was continuing in his forefathers' service of God. Though Dr. Sachs goes a little too far in the rejection of Max Weber's theories his discussion of the topic is valuable because based on a good knowledge of the background of Bunyan's views, and of the controversies that were stirred up by Weber's books.

Basel.

R. STAMM.

¹ Max Weber, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, 2. Aufl., Tübingen 1922, p. 123.

² *Ibidem*, p. 198.

³ On p. 80 of the present study we find the following specimen of an admonition to a debtor who cannot pay: "Let him be diligent to find it out, for some sin is the cause of this judgment", drawn from the *Life and Death*....

The Unextinguished Hearth. Shelley and His Contemporary Critics. By NEWMAN I. WHITE. XVI and 397 pp. 8°. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina. 1938. \$ 3.00.

Lord Byron's well-known saying, "I awoke one morning to find myself famous", cannot be applied to his contemporary Percy Bysshe Shelley, though the latter was not so largely ignored in his lifetime as it is generally supposed.

The first collection of contemporary criticisms on Shelley was selected by the poet Edmund Blunden. In 1925 Blunden published his *Shelley and Keats as they struck their Contemporaries*. This book comprises contemporary notices and memoirs of Shelley and Keats. In his preface Professor White makes no mention of Blunden's work, nor does he speak of Shelley — Leigh Hunt, *How Friendship made History*, edited by R. Brimley Johnson, London, 1928 (2nd edition 1929), a collection of leaders by Leigh Hunt from *The Examiner* and *The Indicator* and other articles, which book throws much light upon the relations between the Hunts and the Shelleys. However, a comprehensive collection of contemporary criticisms on Shelley has been wanting up to the present moment. The materials for a thorough-going study of the relations between Shelley and his critics have been amply supplied now by Professor White in *The Unextinguished Hearth*, which has been published together with other books by the Duke University Press, Durham (N.C.) on the occasion of the centenary of Trinity College, from which the University developed.

The Unextinguished Hearth is divided into four main parts: (a) the introduction: Shelley and Contemporary Critics; (b) the reprinted contemporary articles and notices; (c) a chronological summary and (d) an alphabetical summary by periodicals and other publications with reference to Shelley.

In his introduction Professor White points out that the conviction 'that no reviewers were so dull, so unfair, and vindictive as those of the early nineteenth century' is untenable. The greater part of contemporary criticisms on Shelley has never been reprinted and an examination of the articles in question cannot but convince us 'that Shelley's contemporary critics were not blind to his genius, but merely afraid of it'. Professor White makes it clear that what the critics were afraid of was Shelley's radicalism. They did not judge of his poetry by purely literary, but by political and religious principles. Moreover, Shelley was condemned on personal grounds. But genius will out and it should not be thought that all criticisms were decidedly condemnatory. Professor White states that of two hundred and forty items referring to Shelley in the years 1816-1822, Shelley's mature period, sixteen were predominantly unfriendly, fourteen predominantly friendly, and the remainder 'either colorless or too mixed to be placed definitely in either category'.

If we take into consideration that, as Professor White says, 'these items appeared in seventy-three different periodicals and eleven books and pamphlets, three of which were devoted to Shelley exclusively', the conclusion is fully justified that 'the absurd supposition that Shelley was ignored' should for ever be banished from our too romantic minds.

The characterization of Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* in *The Quarterly Review* of October, 1821, as 'drivelling prose run mad' is too hackneyed to

need quotation. It is interesting on the other hand to take notice of the following extracts from contemporary criticisms on this poem :

From *The London Magazine*, June, 1820:

Like the Time, its parent, too, it is unsettled, irregular, but magnificent.

From *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, September, 1820:

It would be highly absurd to deny, that this gentleman has manifested very extraordinary powers of language and imagination in his treatment of the allegory, however grossly and miserably he may have tried to pervert its purpose and meaning.

And from the same article:

In short it is quite impossible that there should exist a more pestiferous mixture of blasphemy, sedition, and sensuality, than is visible in the whole structure and strain of this poem — which, nevertheless, and notwithstanding all the detestation its principles excite, must and will be considered by all that read it attentively, as abounding in poetical beauties of the highest order — as presenting many specimens not easily to be surpassed, of the moral sublime of eloquence — as overflowing with pathos, and most magnificent in description.

And again :

But the truth of the matter is this, and it is impossible to conceal it were we willing to do so, that Mr. Shelley is destined to leave a great name behind him, and that we, as lovers of true genius, are most anxious that this name should ultimately be pure as well as great.

From *The London Magazine and Monthly Critical and Dramatic Review*, October, 1820:

This is one of the most stupendous of those works which the daring and vigorous spirit of modern poetry and thought has created. We despair of conveying to our readers, either by analysis or description, any idea of its gigantic outlines, or of its innumerable sweetnesses. It is a vast wilderness of beauty which at first seems stretching out on all sides into infinitude, yet the boundaries of which are all cast by the poet; in which the wildest paths have a certain and noble direction; and the strangest shapes that haunt its recesses, voices of gentleness and wisdom.

In this strain the review goes on and represents, as Professor White states 'the summit of contemporary admiration of Shelley as a poet'. The reviewer does full justice to Shelley's genius and one should read the whole of his article (pp. 232-236). There will be many to whom these and similar judgments will be a revelation.

I must refrain, however, from quoting more from Professor White's valuable book, though the temptation to do so is rather great. *The Unextinguished Hearth* contains a fairly complete collection of contemporary criticisms and gives information that is otherwise not easily accessible.

The contemporary poems inspired by Shelley are also highly interesting. For all these reasons the book is fully justified and it will no doubt revolutionize the traditional point of view about the relations between Shelley and his critics. But at the same time it partly supplies the materials for a study of literary criticism in the Romantic Period. What J. E. Spingarn has achieved by his *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance* and Dr. Bosker by his *Literary Criticism in the Age of*

Johnson, has still been left undone for the Romantic Period. *The Unextinguished Hearth* throws a new light indeed upon literary criticism in the Romantic Period and may be an incitement to further investigations in this domain.

If I am not mistaken *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson* was listed in the catalogue of publications of *The Poetical Register and Repository of Fugitive Poetry for 1810-1811* (published in 1814), which has been overlooked by Professor White.

The reproduction of the photograph of Marianne Hunt's bust of Shelley will undoubtedly be a disappointment to the lovers of Shelley's 'sentimentalized' portraits.

The price of this comprehensive and important work is moderate.

Ede.

L. VERKOREN.

ERRATUM. Item 5 in the *Note on the Shelley Bibliography 1908-1922* (E.S. Vol. XX, No. 2, p. 61) should read: *Shelley, Lady Frances, Diary of, 1787-1817*, edited by Richard Edgcumbe. 2 vols., 1913. — L. V.

Carlyle et la pensée latine. Par ALAN CAREY TAYLOR. (Études de littérature étrangère et comparée, no. 8.) viii + 442 pp. Paris: Boivin. 1937. Price 60 frs.

Reference to the political developments in the Centre and South of Europe adds an unusual zest to this well planned study of Carlyle's fortune among the Latin nations, and makes it interesting not only to the scholar, but to a certain extent also to the general reader. With his emphasis on leadership and hierarchy Carlyle has given an unforgettable expression to one of the eternal moments of human speculation; his name, in the same way as Machiavelli's, stands for ever for a definite ideal in social and political life, and as there were Machiavellians before Machiavelli, so Carlylism can be pronounced of all ages. It is next to impossible to gauge how much of Carlyle's theories went to form the creed of Fascism and National Socialism; partly because, as Mr. Taylor recognizes, those theories were "in the air" at the beginning of this century, partly because, responding as they do to an ever-recurring need of men's souls, they are destined to be re-discovered every now and again, quite apart from the actual reading of Carlyle's books. A closer study of Mussolini's life and writings would have perhaps revealed to Mr. Taylor more links with Carlyle than the unscholarly essay of Licciardelli has allowed him to see (chiefly in the case of some of his modern Italian authorities Mr. Taylor seems to lack discrimination: for instance he takes as representative the worthless opinions of Guido Fornelli), but the most one can say is that Mussolini recognized himself in Carlyle as he did in Machiavelli or in Napoleon: achievement, in his case, is infinitely beyond influences. The more

elemental human powers are, the more similar is bound to be their expression: all mystics of all religions talk the same language, without knowing of each other, and so do great lovers and great conquerors, no matter whether their home is the Centre of Asia or Greece, or Spain, or the North. Therefore it was absurd, in a way, of Taine to try to see in Carlyle an illustration of his theories on race and surroundings; and Unamuno was, in a way, right, when he spoke of the commonplaces of Carlyle. What is amazing is how the world needs every now and then to have such commonplaces forcibly driven into its brain.

In an introductory chapter Mr. Taylor outlines the chief characteristics of Carlyle's work, and discusses the part it played in the history of English thought. Carlyle's idealism, unlike German transcendentalism from which it derives, aims ultimately at practical rules of behaviour, is therefore, in its way, utilitarian, and can be described, we may add, as typical of the race which produced Bacon. The motto of Bacon's doctrine was "Knowledge is power", and its aim the *regnum hominis*; his philosophy has rightly been called a pragmatic utilitarianism: he extends the teaching of Machiavelli to the sphere of private life by founding a new science, the *Faber Fortunae*, or art of succeeding, and tries to conciliate utilitarianism with morals. Machiavelli's influence on Bacon has been once for all ascertained by Prof. N. Orsini (*Bacone e Machiavelli*, Genoa 1936); as for Carlyle, Machiavelli's influence on his political ideas is, according to Mr. Taylor, a delicate question, for although he openly professed scorn for the "incredible sophisms" of the Florentine thinker, he seems to have imbibed indirectly his principles. We draw attention here to this relation to Machiavelli, because it can lead us to understand why on the one hand Carlyle's philosophy is, like Bacon's, so British, and why, on the other, it can appeal to the Latin races, at least to Italians, and be considered an anticipation of Fascism.

Carlyle first became known to the Continent through an article of Philarète Chasles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for March 1, 1839, which appeared translated in the following year in the *Rivista europea*; the service rendered to Carlyle by the French critic in his first enthusiastic articles (in one of them, he went so far as to describe Carlyle's attitude in *The French Revolution* as a "sympathie shakespearienne, qui voit tout de très haut, qui est indulgente pour tout, qui a des larmes pour les millions de douleurs humaines, qui a des sourires pour les innombrables folies de ce monde") found a counterpart in Chasles' appropriation of whole portions of Carlyle's *Cromwell* (in *Olivier Cromwell, sa vie privée, etc.*, Paris 1847): Chasles not only did not acknowledge his source, but actually attacked Carlyle in the preface! He derived from Carlyle many ideas, among them that of the superiority of the Germanic races. Carlyle's first contact with France had been with the Saint-Simonists who had noticed his article *Sign of the Times* reproduced by the *Revue britannique* (1829); certain affinities with the Saint-Simonists were noticed later by the socialist critic Dilmans, who found in 1846 that Carlyle's hero "ressemble sous plus d'un rapport au poète-artiste de M. Enfantin". Dilmans, like the Saint-Simonists, thought he had discovered in Carlyle a sister soul, the only disturbing factor for his conception of him as a socialist being his faith in heroes: it was a pity that "un homme comme M. Carlyle" placed his hopes in "le règne des intelligents et des justes" instead of that "de l'intelligence et de

la justice". He completely failed to grasp Carlyle's horror of abstractions. Of this horror, on the contrary, Mazzini was made fully aware during the conversations with his friend, who considered his aspirations incredible and both tragically and comically chimerical. While Dilmans had in common with Carlyle the idea of authority, Mazzini found a point of contact in the conception of duty, but for Mazzini the divine law had to be discovered through a collective effort of the whole of humanity; Carlyle, though believing himself in a collective responsibility, maintained that the supreme idea had to be interpreted by privileged individuals, the heroes. The history of Carlyle's relations with Mazzini forms one of the best chapters of Mr. Taylor's book; of the two, Carlyle seems to have been the more broadminded, for when Massimo d'Azeglio spoke disrespectfully of Mazzini in his presence, he turned his back on him saying: "Monsieur, vous ne le connaissez pas du tout, du tout", whereas Mazzini, on finding a girl of his acquaintance reading Carlyle, tried to scare her by telling her that she was losing her soul, for Carlyle was the most sceptical of sceptics. Carlyle proved also the better judge of the mainsprings of history: as we have said at the beginning, he can be considered a forerunner of the dictatorships of to-day, whereas Mazzini's idea of a collective wisdom has been belied by fact time and again. Of contemporary critics, Mazzini was perhaps the one who understood Carlyle best and wrote on him the best essays; these, however, appeared first in English and were meant for a public, like the English, which was already acquainted with Carlyle's writings; they were of no immediate service for spreading Carlyle's ideas in Italy. Italy had to wait until the end of the century to become familiar with Carlyle's chief writings (particularly with *On Heroes*), when Enrico Nencioni repeatedly drew attention to them in the *Nuova Antologia* and saw in them (the point is particularly noticed by Mr. Taylor, in view of later developments in Italian history) a possible cure for the nerveless youths of his days (the days when the protagonist of d'Annunzio's *Il piacere* was made to say of the Italian soldiers massacred by the Abyssinians at Dogali: "Quattrocento bruti, morti brutalmente"). Very likely Carducci owed to his friend Nencioni his acquaintance with *The French Revolution*; thus a number of episodes from Carlyle's book found its way into Italian verse, since, as Mr. Taylor shows in a detailed analysis, Carducci's *Ça ira* is chiefly inspired by Carlyle. Apart from this influence, and a possible connexion with Fascism, the history of Carlyle's influence in Italy is a rather dull chronicle of translations (some of these, by Maria Pezzè Pascolato, deserving praise) and of not very relevant critical essays: Mr. Taylor's list is remarkably full, although not complete; he does not mention, for instance, an article by Emilio Cecchi apropos of the French translation of Jane Welsh Carlyle's *Reminiscences*, written in 1913 and reprinted in 1935 in Cecchi's *Scrittori inglesi e americani*. Of all the articles written on Carlyle in Italy, an attack of the *Civiltà cattolica* in 1897 affords the best reading. By way of conclusion the Catholic critic, after reminding the reader of Carlyle's words: "Close your Byron, open your Goethe!", went on: "We say rather: 'Close your Byron, your Goethe, and also your Carlyle!'". Leopoldo Alas is the only Spanish critic whose opinions on Carlyle are worth recording; Menéndez y Pelayo got his own second-hand from Taine; whether the idea of an aristocracy of intellect, which was at the back of the Spanish republican revolution, was a distant reflex of

Carlyle's hero-worship, as Mr. Taylor seems to think, or not, certainly we agree with him when he says: "Les savants n'étaient pas en même temps des sages." There is little to be said on Carlyle's influence in Portugal and in Rumania. On the whole, one can speak of a tradition of Carlylian criticism only apropos of France. And it is with France that Mr. Taylor's book is mainly concerned.

While *On Heroes* proved the most popular among Carlyle's works in Italy and Spain, France studied and appreciated chiefly *The French Revolution*. This book supplied the main foundation for a parallel between Carlyle and Michelet which soon became trite (a number of variations on Taine's definition of Carlyle as "un Michelet anglais" is recorded by Mr. Taylor); and was frequently referred to at the time of the revolution of 1848 both by those who wanted to be enlightened and by those who searched in it for arguments pro and con the revolutionary spirit. Montégut hailed Carlyle as the prophet who offered a solution for all the social problems of the day, and accepted his interpretation of the Revolution as a destructive force which paved the way to a new organisation, as a feckless anarchy until a chief was found. Montégut assimilated Carlyle's ideas better than any other Frenchman; he saw in the cult of heroes a development of the theory about symbols destined to destroy in the long run the so-called philosophy of history which explained the great men as the outcome of circumstances. If Montégut's ideas seem to us rather obvious to-day, we must judge them against the bourgeois background of the mid-nineteenth century which marked the triumph of the Biedermeier spirit, a spirit nowhere better illustrated than in Thackeray's pages (his presentation of Louis XIV in *The Paris Sketch Book* is a counterpart of Carlyle's Hero as King; his *Small-beer Chronicle* voices the feelings of a whole sober, unheroic age). Times were not yet ripe for a renaissance of wonder and hero-worship: Napoleon III who, Mr. Taylor thinks, owed something to Carlyle for his idea of the divine mission of the Bonaparte family, so little succeeded in living up to Carlyle's standard that he deserved from him the titles of "Brummagem French Cromwell" and "scandalous Copper-Captain". For Taine, whose epoch-making essay on Carlyle appeared in book-form in 1864, the Scottish thinker was "un animal extraordinaire, débris d'une race perdue, sorte de mastodonte égaré dans un monde qui n'est point fait pour lui"; though he admired and occasionally tried to imitate some of his qualities, Taine preferred to his method the "éloquence continue", the "raison vigoureuse, prévisions modérées, théories prouvées" of "généreux et solide" Macaulay, that idol of the *Biedermeierkultur*. Mérimée's opinion of *The French Revolution* was quite in the spirit of Thackeray's *Small-beer Chronicle*; he found in it "une prétension insupportable et une outrecuidance achevée"; the same spirit prompted Brunetière, towards the end of the century, to blame Carlyle's "insupportable affectation", and to prefer to his monumental work on Frederick II the short essay of Macaulay on the same subject, as being "plus complet"! But with the idealist reaction which followed the "banqueroute du naturalisme" Carlyle became an active influence in France; Jean Izoulet, the translator of *On Heroes*, sought in him a guidance and stressed the religious side of his message (the translation was dedicated to Renan); the influence of Carlyle combined with that of Emerson and of Nietzsche in the dynamic creeds of the *fin-de-siècle* generations. Mr.

Taylor traces this influence in Maurice Barrès, Léon Bloy, and others, and concludes :

L'influence de Carlyle a été la plus profonde sur les deux dernières générations du XIX^e siècle, et si sa pensée continue à agir, ce n'est plus d'une façon directe, mais à travers ces aînés qui l'ont lu pendant leur jeunesse: un Maeterlinck, un Barrès, un Bainville. Déjà dans les enquêtes sur les tendances de la jeune génération d'avant-guerre on n'en parle plus comme d'une force agissante: le rôle qu'il aurait pu jouer a été assumé par Nietzsche... Il faut croire qu'en France l'œuvre de Carlyle est déjà parvenue à l'étape où elle prend place parmi les grands classiques qu'on cite parfois mais qu'on ne lit plus guère.

French critics played an important part in the controversy which followed Froude's revelations on Carlyle's intimate life; Madame Arvède Barine, with her essay on *La femme d'un grand homme: Mme. Carlyle* (1884), was largely responsible for a Carlyle legend which became widely spread on the Continent. Mr. Taylor discusses the whole question in an illuminating chapter.

Rome.

MARIO PRAZ.

The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs. Compiled by WILLIAM GEORGE SMITH, with Introduction and Index by JANET E. HEZELTINE. xxviii + 644 pp. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1935. 21s. net.

As one may gather from Mrs Hezeltine's masterly introduction, W. G. Smith stands on the shoulders of at least twenty English collectors and more than a dozen British and American commentators on Proverbs. So we may expect him to give us the gist of a load of accumulated wisdom, and I daresay the most exacting consulter of this book will hardly ever be disappointed. Whenever a proverb has its history, it is stated fully and precisely. With a good many it extends over twenty centuries. It is a rare treat to see a time-honoured proverb presented in all its variations made by the authors of different languages and nationalities. As is well known to every lover of Shakespeare, English proverbs are most frequently handled, or at least alluded to, by Shakespeare. Just as it is difficult to name a herb or flower growing on English soil that is not mentioned in Shakespeare's plays, so it is hard to find a proverb current in the English language of the 16th century that Shakespeare's personages are not familiar with. But after reading all the quotations I am most thankful for the author's accurate definition of the real meaning of the proverb. And I like him to confess his ignorance rather than risk an idle guess or an equivocal circumlocution, cf. p. 283: Make not two mews of one daughter. (mew=maich=son-in-law). "The sense I do not understand unless it be spoken to them who think to oblige two different persons with one and the same benefit, taken from the Latin *Eaedem filiae duos generos parare*." I merely wonder from what source Smith borrowed that unusual dative form "eaedem".

Neither Smith nor his authorities seem to have been aware of the fact that John Bull, John Frog, John Sausage, John Bear were used all over

Europe as jocular appellations, or nicknames, for the Englishman, the Frenchman, the German, the Russian. At least he only gives the explanation: "John Bull = Englishmen collectively, or the typical Englishman" (p. 247). English schoolboys as well as Russian peasants will tease a French comrade as John Froggie, and a German as Johnnie Sausage, even at the present day.

Any continental etymologist would have helped the author to a better explanation of the word "rap" in the saying "not a rap" than is given in the annotation on p. 326: "Rap, a counterfeit coin passing current for a halfpenny in Ireland in the 18th cent. Taken as a type of the smallest coin." Englishmen travelling on the continent must have come across the "Rappen", first coined at Freiburg i. B. after 1500 and then in Switzerland up to the present day. The Freiburg copper coin bore the sign of a raven.

Lovers of comparative philology will feel particularly thankful to the author for giving due honour to the Old English and the Scotch wording of proverbs which nearly always sound more pithy than the generally accepted modern English forms. Besides, many of the Scotch wordings have preserved homely old terms like insects in a meerschäum, such as "fremit" = Germ. fremd (like a cow in a fremit loaning = in a strange milking-place), "selth", later on "seil", old Germ. saelde = happiness (Seil comes not while sorrow be gone = Happiness does not come until sorrow be gone), "ding" = beat, Germ. dengeln (You may ding the Deil (Devil) into a wife, but you'll never ding him out of her), "yeld", or "yell" = barren, Germ. Galtvieh, Gelzer = castrator (Your thrift goes by the profit of a yeld hen), "fern" = last year, Germ. dial. fern, Firnschnee = last year's snow (If I live another year I'll call this year fern year).

Most of the good old English proverbs were coined and spread as small currency of popular wit in the moralising middle ages, when the name of Satan the Tempter was sounded more loudly and more frequently from the pulpits than the name of God the Saviour. As a proof of this may be taken the fact that the number of proverbs about God mentioned in this book amounts to 105, whereas the number of proverbs about the Devil runs up to 141.

The whole history of Proverb-Collecting and Commenting in Great Britain and America since John Haywood, 1546, is dealt with at some length in the Introduction, for which Mrs Hezeltnie deserves full praise as well as for the carefully drawn up Index. Of course, it was Erasmus of Rotterdam that had set the example to all the nations of Europe with his Adagia, i.e. anecdotes illustrating proverbs, borrowed from the classical authors. In the 16th century all the French, Italian, Spanish proverbial and sentential wisdom was presented to the English in translations of dialogues and proverbs. The fashion had been started by Earl Rivers, King Edward IV's brother-in-law, who got Caxton to print his translation of the French collection of proverbs *Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers*.

To some of the proverbs entered in this book it might be objected that they are either too long or too short to be considered as such. What was rightly styled a nursery rhyme by Halliwell in 1846 should not have been accepted as a proverb by Hazlitt in 1869, nor by Smith in 1935. Take as an instance the rather pointless rhyme about Sneezing, p. 215. On the other hand, if mere words or terms are inserted in the collection one will generally feel grateful to the collector for elucidating them by apt and

useful quotations, always in historical order, e.g. John Company, John-a-nokes (p. 247), Jedwood, or Jedward justice (p. 246), The men of Kent (p. 450), The modern Athens (p. 451). Obviously the author gave himself a wider scope than was claimed by his predecessors, by superscribing his collection with the comprehensive title "The Oxford *Dictionary* of English Proverbs."

Basel.

E. THOMMEN.

An English Grammar for Dutch Students. By E. KRUISINGA. Volume II: Grammar and Idiom. 4th Edition. Groningen: Noordhoff. 1935. f 3.60.

This slightly overdue review must, of necessity, be short, as much has already been said with reference to Dr. Kruisinga's books. When comparing the 4th. edition with its predecessors, the reader will at once see that the presentation of many facts is much more "scientific", by which the author means to say that "the facts have been presented in the light that the study of a language as a means of thought as well as expression sheds on them". Some chapters have been almost entirely rewritten, others have been modified; the modification having been made necessary by the 5th. edition of the first volume.

The preface informs the reader of the fact that language teaching in Dutch schools is still generally based on far from intelligent methods, that in many cases we have not proceeded beyond "the mechanical views inculcated by the traditional grammar of the 16th. century." It is announced, however, that "the competent teacher will find several things that are perfectly acceptable for teaching in our secondary schools." It is quite true that in spite of the great progress the teaching of foreign languages has made in Holland during the last two decades, a number of schoolbooks continue to be published that had better forthwith be relegated to limbo. But much excellent work has been done by which both pupils and teachers have greatly benefited. As far as English is concerned it may be said that our country possesses a small, but quite sufficient number of excellent school-books to which the above-quoted lines must not be applied. As it is not the custom to discuss school-books in this periodical, no more will be said about the matter here.

Like all Dr. Kruisinga's publications, the volume under discussion deserves to be read with the greatest care. Nobody can fail to admire the author's restless activity and his earnest desire to shed more light on the problems the study of a language presents. Students of English will greatly profit by a careful perusal of the 4th. edition of this already well-known work. When one compares the way in which nouns have been classified in this edition with the corresponding chapters in the earlier editions, the advantage of the new classification will be manifest. Other chapters, especially those on prepositions and comparison, are equally instructive.

We should like to wind up with a few remarks. The sections on the definite article open with the statement that the definite article corresponds

in a number of expressions to deictic *this* and anaphoric *this* or *that*. The student might have been informed of the meaning of deictic — if he is to gather it from the examples given by Dr. Kruisinga, he will get little help.¹ In connection with such verbs as *dream* and *lean* students will do well to consult Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* s.v. *-t* and *-ed*.

The translations are not always flawless; we do not say in Dutch that "de koning luid op zijn rechten stond." — Why do we still find the term "emphatic imperative with *do*"? Is *do hold your tongue* really more emphatic than *hold your tongue*? — The formulation of § 197 is not clear. — § 489 would become much more intelligible by supplying *English* before *verb* in 1. 3. — A few misprints have escaped the author's attention.

Nijmegen.

J. J. VAN HELDEN.

Brief Mention

Shakespeare's Hamlet. The Second Quarto. 1604. Reproduced in facsimile from the copy in the Huntington Library. With an Introduction by OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL. San Marino, California. 1938. \$ 3.50. (Together with the First Quarto \$ 5.00.)

Of the Second Quarto of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* six copies are extant, three in England, the other three in America. This text is by many scholars believed to have been set up from Shakespeare's original autograph, and is therefore of the greatest importance to textual criticism. Since earlier facsimiles are either out of print or inaccurate, the appearance of this very clear and cheap facsimile should be welcomed by all those who study the difficult problems connected with the provenience and history of the text of Shakespeare's plays. The introduction, besides a brief discussion of the bibliographical condition of the Q₂ text, gives a short survey of the many problems to the solution of which this facsimile can give valuable aid. It is a companion volume to *The First Quarto of Shakespeare's Hamlet* (Huntington Library Texts). — H. d. G.

Le Président de Brosses et l'Australie. Par ALAN CAREY TAYLOR. (Etudes de littérature étrangère et comparée.) 190 pp. Paris: Boivin & Cie. 1937. 30 fr.

Dr. Taylor's book, apparently a thesis for a French doctorate, is a study by an Australian on the role played by de Brosses in the history of Australian exploration. De Brosses, who was President (i.e. Chief Justice) of the Parliament of Dijon, was a typical "enlightened" Frenchman of the middle of the 18th century, a friend of Buffon, and a learned amateur geographer. His "*Histoire des navigations aux terres australes*", published in 1756, is partly an account of Australasian exploration up to that time, and partly a plea for French colonization in these regions. Its chief interest is the statement of de Brosses' ideas about colonization contained in the book, which are both sensible and humane and in some respects in advance of their time, and the influence the book may have exercised on subsequent exploration (several English editions were brought out). Dr. Taylor's book consists of a sketch of de Brosses' life, a survey of Australasian exploration up to the appearance of the "*Histoire*", an analysis of the latter, and an account of the subsequent exploration, which the writer thinks was, at least in some measure, influenced by de Brosses. — C. A. B.

¹ A somewhat similar objection was raised by Dr. W. Scholten in the Dutch journal *Levende Talen* no. 95.

Die Romankunst Disraelis. Von HILDEGARD SEIKAT. 78 pp. Jena: Verlag der Frommannschen Buchhandlung. 1933. RM. 3.50.

Most of what has hitherto been written about Disraeli's novels has dealt with his ideas. Miss Seikat's book is a study in his technique. Her method recalls that of a naturalist: a detailed schedule is drawn up of every conceivable point of D.'s technique: his way of opening and concluding his novels or his chapters, the various methods he employs for delineating character, the way in which he introduces new characters, etc. etc. Synthesis and criticism (the latter mostly adverse) is relegated to 5 pages at the end of the book.

Miss Seikat has purposely made her book very dry, and she emphasizes its schematic character by systematically alluding to Disraeli's novels as *Al*, *Co*, *Sy*, etc, though she can hardly have saved ten lines of print by not writing the names in full. The reader of her book will hardly be left with any real impression of these clever, glittering and empty novels, which, incredible as it may appear, enjoyed a reputation almost equal to those of Dickens and Thackeray when they first appeared. To the comparative student of the Victorian novel, the book should, however, be useful. — C. A. B.

Over een naam van het stormvogeltje: malefijt. Door R. VAN DER MEULEN. Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde, deel 83, serie A, no. 4. 46 pp. Amsterdam: N.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij. 1937. f 0,60.

The value of this paper for Anglicists lies in Dr. van der Meulen's discussion of the etymology of *petrel*, which he derives from the German diminutive *Peterl*, from *Peter*, a name for the Evil One. If his derivation of *malefijt* (which occurs once as *malefeiter*) from Port. *malfeytor* (evil-doer) is correct, the two names originate from the same demonic sphere, and denote the *Procellaria pelagica* as a bird of ill omen.

A postscript suggests the alternative derivation of *malefijt* from Low-Breton *milvid* or *milfid*, a kind of small thrush (*Turdus iliacus*); but "there is no other instance known of a Dutch word borrowed from that language by seamen or otherwise." — R.W.Z.

U...isse der amerikanischen Kultur und Kunst. Von H. EFFELBERGER. 52 pp. Frankfurt a.M.: Verlag Moritz Diesterweg. 1937. RM. 1,80.

To those looking for a brief introduction to American culture, in its manifestations in art, architecture, literature, and philosophy, these 'outlines' may be warmly recommended. Most of them appeared originally as articles in *Die Neueren Sprachen*, and thus testify once more to the lively interest in things American taken by German teachers of English. Students of literature will perhaps profit most by the chapters on American art and philosophy; those on American literature will offer less that is new to them. The author's views are naturally coloured by the German ideology of to-day, but this hardly impairs the value of his observations for non-German readers. A few slips, such as *Don Passos* and '*High-scraper*' are, after all, of minor importance. There is a select bibliography of books in English, French, and German. — R.W.Z.

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A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue. From the Twelfth Century to the end of the Seventeenth. By SIR WILLIAM A. CRAIGIE. Part VII. Cow—Cythariste. University of Chicago Press. London: Milford. 21s.

Venetian Glass :

The Poetry and Prose of Elinor Wylie

In the Greenwich Village of the middle twenties of this century Elinor Wylie was a proud, if somewhat erratic figure, whose work, both in verse and prose, stood miles apart from the various literary isms then in vogue. As the wife of one of the Village's leading poets her position at the centre of one of the most interesting epochs in American literary history would be assured even if she had not produced the four volumes of verse and four novels, besides a respectable number of fugitive pieces, that were collected and published after her death with prefaces by various leading critics,¹ all warm admirers of her personality and her art. The Dictionary of American Biography in one of its last volumes, when space was getting valuable and articles were reduced in number and size, devotes several columns to her life from the pen of Carl Van Doren, thus definitely establishing her as one of the distinguished figures of contemporary American letters. And yet she is practically unknown in Europe and a review of her work for Continental students must of necessity be in the nature of an introduction.

Her biography is quickly sketched, though her life was far from being monotonous or devoid of excitement as the classical female poet's biography is supposed to be. It is not even quite free from a novelistic piquancy and will probably offer temptations enough to later research into the human side of her work. For she was born of one of the best families of the country, lived in high society in Philadelphia and Washington, married, had a son, then eloped and lived for a number of years in England with a man considerably older than herself, married him as soon as he could get a divorce but divorced him again when she found the man to whom she could definitely devote herself, except for a passing, though intense, passion for another, whose identity is still a mystery to the public.

Her maiden name was Elinor Morton Hoyt. Her father's family had migrated from Puritan Massachusetts to Pennsylvania, and her grandfather had been at one time governor of the state. Her father was trained as a lawyer and had risen to be assistant Attorney General and Solicitor General of the United States, a very high official position at Washington. Both father and son were distinguished for their wide reading and high culture and the granddaughter grew up in an atmosphere of books and university friendships. She was a good scholar, wrote verses in her teens and had a talent for drawing. For a while she attended the life-class at the Corcoran Art Gallery. In 1903, when Elinor was eighteen, her grandfather took her to Europe, visiting Paris and London, where she met Henry Irving. Two years later she married the son of an American admiral at Washington — a handsome, bad-tempered boy, as her sister and biographer² tells us, — who wrote about horses. The association was

¹ *Collected Poems of Elinor Wylie*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1932. — *Collected Prose of Elinor Wylie*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1933.

² Nancy Hoyt, *Elinor Wylie*. New York. 1935.

ominous and the marriage only lasted five years. In 1910 occurred the elopement with Horace Wylie which set Washington society in an uproar. Elinor left her three-year-old boy with her parents and her husband's family, not seeing him till many years later, when an attachment grew up between them that lasted till the end of her life. With her friend she went to England and settled in the New Forest, the couple passing as Mr. and Mrs. Waring, since Mrs. Wylie refused to be divorced.

For a while there was peace and happiness; but inevitably American travellers brought small waves and splashes of chilling gossip and scandal, and though the relations with her family were soon resumed and various members of it came over to visit them, the "Warings" began a series of short and frequent migrations in an attempt to regain their original seclusion. The War with its intense partisanship, in which they could not join as whole-heartedly as their neighbours — Elinor's sister was married to a German baron in the diplomatic service at Brussels — and the black wave of starvation and suffering that it brought over England, finally put an end to their jealously guarded idyll and in 1915 they returned to America, where the coveted divorce had been granted, and were married. When the War was over Horace Wylie was given a government position in Washington, but two years later Elinor moved to New York and definitely entered into its literary life — in 1921.

She made her entrance like a queen. It was the bright day of the latest "Renaissance" of American Literature, especially of poetry, and just as her antecedents and her person gave her a position of aristocracy in the Bohemia of Greenwich Village, her small volume of poems, *Nets to Catch the Wind*, — issued just before and actually the occasion of her removal — placed her apart and in some sense above the general average of the raucous poets and poetesses of her new environment. The men of the hour were Sinclair Lewis among prose writers and William Rose Benét among the poets. They both became her sponsors. She already had connections with Harriet Monroe and her *Poetry* magazine and she later came to know Edmund Wilson and John Dos Passos, who introduced her to *Vanity Fair*, whose poetry editor she became. A close friend of her last years was Edna St. Vincent Millay — but her attachment to Wylie suffered under the strain of her new life. In 1923 they were divorced and she married William Rose Benét — a union which seems to have been more of the spirit than the blood and which did not prevent her from living her own life as heretofore, travelling up and down the States and in Europe and experiencing a powerful and poetically productive attraction for another man during the summer before she died.

The story is only superficially that of the spoiled American society woman, unappeasable in her innate restlessness. It is rather an imposing inner development that is concealed beneath the newspaper romantics, a series of mistakes and escapes and new attempts at a spiritual fulfilment that would have been justified even without the poetry which eventually was its bye-product. It testifies to the proud spirit which all her friends recognized in the straight, rather reserved figure with the copper-coloured hair and the dark, lustrous eyes — eyes that were observant in spite of their short-sightedness. There seems not to have been a great warmth or an embracing strength in her nature, and there certainly was no direct

expression of strong feeling — nothing that would smack of sentimentality. Her emotions found an outlet rather in her irony and in practical deeds. Fastidiousness was the key-note of her nature, a strong need to keep clear of unpremeditated contacts even to the verge of pride and selfishness. The care with which she dressed was probably as much an expression of this as her early and persistent hero-worship of Shelley. For, like the English poet, she was essentially lonely and like him had voluntarily chosen ostracism by the society to which she belonged by birth. The one weakness that is recorded of her, a humorous but insatiable appetite for praise, may have been due as much to her need for friendly support as to the lateness of her arrival on the literary scene.

Her first venture into print was a private edition of a selection of her earliest verse arranged in London through the agency of her mother. *Incidental Numbers* appeared anonymously in 1912. During the New Forest period, so her sister records, she read much but wrote no poetry. That may be true, but some of her later poems clearly express the state of mind she was in at that time. Shortly after her return to America she had enough poems written to begin publishing in *Poetry* and the *Century* magazine, and in 1921 her first collection *Nets to Catch the Wind* came out. It is obviously an assortment of samples of her early work, variously reflecting her careful study of other poets. There are reminders, even reminiscences of Burns and Robert Frost and Emily Dickinson, and the themes vary from descriptions of the country-side to realistic impressions of modern life. Likewise the forms vary from the simple folk-song to the loose structure of modernist verse, and allegory and symbolism are not lacking. It is, on the whole, a variegated fare of many dishes that she set before the literary world of her day — not a surprising thing in a beginner. But what holds all these heterogeneous poems together is the strong personal note — again not a surprising thing in a woman —, the pervasive first person singular that betrays itself even in the thickest coat of irony. Surely it was one of the major moods of her hegira in England that informed the following lines, a fair specimen of this first collection:

Village Mystery

The woman in the pointed hood
And cloak blue-gray like a pigeon's wing,
Whose orchard climbs to the balsam-wood,
Has done a cruel thing.

To her back door-step came a ghost,
A girl who had been ten years dead,
She stood by the granite hitching-post
And begged for a piece of bread.

Now why should I, who walk alone,
Who am ironical and proud,
Turn, when a woman casts a stone
At a beggar in a shroud?

I saw the dead girl cringe and whine,
And cower in the weeping air —
But, oh, she was no kin of mine,
And so I did not care!

The same note of protective irony, this time much stronger and fuller, is struck in her second collection of verse, in *Black Armour*, which appeared two years later. In accordance with the title, itself an expression of the key-note of the whole collection, the poems are grouped under symbolical headings such as: Breastplate, Gauntlet, Helmet, etc. It is not a happy idea, since the poems hardly fit the conceptions associated with the headings and leave them in the air. But there is a decided advance in artistry in all other respects, a complete mastery of rhythm and verse, and the all-too frequent paddings, the loose-jointedness that betrayed the beginner in the earlier volume has here been overcome. The poems are tightly constructed and with direct force the poet is now able to express what she wants to say. Her themes do not lead to exuberance of any kind: death and the cruelty and hatred of the world and her hiding from it form the burden of her song. Obviously she was still drawing from the most painful experience of her life and the solace she finds in her power of irony and the equanimity of her crystalline mind. Naturally, the collection abounds in personal touches and toward the end a new note is struck, a new love, but a quiet, impassionate one, for a man:

Now that Your Eyes are Shut

Now that your eyes are shut
Not even a dusty butterfly may brush them;
My flickering knife has cut
Life from sonorous lion throats to hush them.

If pigeons croon too loud
Or lambs bleat proudly, they must come to slaughter,
And I command each cloud
To be precise in spilling silent water.

Let light forbear those lids;
I have forbidden the feathery ash to smutch them;
The spider thread that thrids
The gray-plumed grass has not my leave to touch them.

My casual ghost may slip,
Issuing tiptoe, from the pure inhuman;
The tissues of my lip
Will bruise your eyelids, while I am a woman.

The poem illustrates sufficiently well what is probably the salient characteristic of Elinor Wylie's work, the delicate preciousness of her imagery, the wealth of fanciful associations that flit lightly off at a tangent. It is a corollary to her irony, perhaps better: the finer, more sublimated form of this ironic spirit. And it is rooted in her mental experience, which is essentially bookish, and is mirrored in her vocabulary, an eclectic but usually just mixture of the romantic and the realistic. A comparison with Emily Dickinson would be trite if one did not realise that the younger woman with all the knowledge of the world that Emily lacked, still paced in her poetry a horizon hardly wider than the one the New England spinster and recluse had explored. Indeed, Emily's world is much closer to reality, since she grasped her natural surroundings with a firm hand. But there is still, above and beyond, the other world of dreams, of images and of fancy, nourished by desire and books, and here it is that the two

women meet. The pure lyric note, the simple emotion in clarified expression, is rare in both, though more frequent in Emily than in Elinor. They are both poets of sophistication, Elinor Wylie more so than Emily Dickinson.

Such a mentality, when applied to the novel, was bound to produce peculiar results. At twenty-five, Elinor Wylie wrote what is recorded as a realistic novel; but it was lost by friends during the rush homeward in August 1914. Among the *Fugitive Pieces* at the end of the volume of her collected prose there are experiments in various types of prose narrative, but there is no example of realism. She was not downright enough to write realistic fiction, says Carl Van Doren, and in a reprinted review of a book by Yeats there occur the words: "Here is the same unreality which is so much more real than reality." That is the key, one of the keys, to the four narrative books which we, for lack of a more precise word, must call novels. She herself called the first one an extravaganza, and the word fits all the others, for Elinor Wylie did not live long enough to develop more than one form of prose narrative on a large scale.

The "sedate extravaganza" *Jennifer Lorn* appeared in 1923. It was the moment when realism in the English novel in America had reached its most muscular and its fleshiest — Dreiser's *American Tragedy* was to appear a year or two later — and the reaction was coming into prominence. Sinclair Lewis's satiric verism was no longer "pure" realism. Hergesheimer's art was only superficially realistic and in reality, as one wit put it, "interior decoration", an attempt to catch the spirit and atmosphere of a place and an age in its furniture, i.e. its attitudes and gestures and foibles. Cabell had gone a step further many years earlier and produced in his Poictème stories, especially in *Jurgen*, a narrative of thought and wit that had practically nothing to do with realism, while in England the anti-realistic tendencies were taking shape in the work of Virginia Woolf and others. And as, like all new movements, this one needed an ancestor, he was found in Thomas Love Peacock, whose witty extravaganzas in novel form were republished in a sumptuous edition in the middle of the twenties (1922 ff.) In this reaction to realism Elinor Wylie's novels stand among the first and her godfather was Peacock.

Jennifer Lorn is an attempt to embody the spirit of an age in a fanciful prose narrative. "Illuminating Episodes in the Lives of the Hon. Gerald Poynyrd and his Bride", is the subtitle, which does the story in so far as an injustice, as the latter consists of more than mere episodes and has a consecutive thread, if not exactly a plot. For the reader follows the eccentric hero and his fairy-like bride from eighteenth century England, where they meet and spend a short part of their married life, to Paris and thence to India, where, in the course of strange adventures, Jennifer loves a fairy prince, elopes with him and dies just in time to escape being handed over to a rajah for his pleasure. There is no reality and no psychological consistency in this India of Jennifer's, just as there is no real England or real London in the book. It is not an atmosphere such as the living characters of a novel might breathe. It is a perfume, a dream-perfume, distilled not from reality but from literature. Eighteenth century London is suggested by the passing mention of such names as Gray, Goldsmith, Walpole, Hume, Reynolds, Gainsborough, etc., and India arises to the reader's mind on the same associative foundation. It is the mirrored picture of a picture, a

loosen up the verse and to experiment in freer rhythms and in assonances. There is no free verse yet, hardly an approximation to it. But there certainly seems to be an influence of the free-verse world in which she was working in such Browningsque lines as those in the poem :

“Desolation is a Delicate Thing”

Sorrow lay upon my breast more heavily than winter clay
Lying ponderable upon the unmoving bosom of the dead ;
Yet it was dissolved like a thin snowfall; it was softly withered away ;
Presently like a single drop of dew it had trembled and fled.

.....
This sorrow, which I believed a gravestone over my heart,
Is gone like a cloud; it eluded me as I woke ;
Its crystal dust is suddenly broken and blown apart ;
It was not my heart; it was this poor sorrow alone which broke.

And with the freer treatment there goes a more robust spirit that consciously turns away from the aspen sensitiveness of the earlier poems and accepts, even seeks, the world and life as it is. It seems to be the corollary to the growing realism of the novels.

Her poems so far had been the light, often perverse, sometimes brilliant embodiments of whims and fancies rather than of really poetic moods. A certain airy elusiveness, a quicksilver quality of not being quite all in the reader's hand, was their characteristic and they seemed to evade one's grasp on purpose, studiously to avoid saying what really was in the poet's mind. The titles of the collections have a correspondingly apologetic ring, which sometimes belies their real worth and weight. In her last collection, *Angels and Earthly Creatures* (1929) Elinor Wylie has overcome her former shyness and speaks out. And now she has a theme, for the dominant note is furnished by love. One portion of the collection, the nineteen sonnets introducing the volume and addressed to “One Person”, are, we are told, the fruit of her attachment during the summer before her death. Many of the other poems, however, express similar moods, though they may have been written much earlier and kept back from publication. Technically the collection shows the poet marking time, so far as any advance in a modernist direction is concerned, and even a certain retrogression is noticeable in the vague reminiscences of Elizabethanism that occur — the shifting of the stress in three and more syllable words and the rhyming of unstressed syllables. There is an unmistakable flavor of Donne about many of the poems, especially the more thoughtful ones. Perhaps the poem that closes the series is a good illustration :

Little Elegy

Withouten you
No rose can grow ;
No leaf be green
If never seen
Your sweetest face ;
No bird have grace
Or power to sing ;
Or anything
Be kind, or fair,
And you nowhere.

The sonnets to "One Person" are generally accepted as the consummation of Elinor Wylie's poetry. There certainly is no other group among her poems that leaves so much satisfaction on so many counts. There is a warmth of feeling and directness of thought that is not usual in her work and the circle of experience that is touched upon has a much more general appeal than formerly. Technically the sonnets show a complete mastery of the form. Her experience in handling words in fanciful moods and in light, quick cadences stands her in good stead and she moves perfectly at her ease within the narrow limits of the sonnet structure. But she does not allow it to dissolve in the easy flow of the lines. The inevitable comparison with Elizabeth Barrett is interesting from this point of view as from others. The Portuguese sonnets are much looser in construction, the rhythms not only passing over the ends of the lines but frequently even from the octave to the sestet. The sonnet thus resolves itself into a series of loose rhythms that flow easily and beautifully enough without a break from the first to the last word of the poem, but which bear practically no relation to the peculiar structure of the sonnet as such. Elinor Wylie's sonnets observe the architecture of their kind with careful precision and the final line is fitted to the whole with a clinching emphasis. While Elizabeth Barrett was working with the disregard for form peculiar to the post-Romantics, Elinor Wylie obviously took the Renaissance as her model. But it denotes the difference in temperament between the two women as well; the American even here remains reticent and disciplined and what she has to say is, compared to the Victorian lady's confession, restrained and controlled for a woman of the Twentieth Century.

XIII

O mine is Psyche's heavy doom reversed
 Who meet at noon, part by diminished light,
 But never feel the subtle balm of night
 Fall merciful upon a body pierced
 By extreme love; and I considered first
 That you, a god more prodigally bright
 Than the lesser Eros, had enriched my sight,
 Made your own mourning, and the stars immersed.

But secondly I saw my soul arise
 And, in the hushed obscure, presume to creep
 Tiptoe upon your spirit laid asleep,
 And slant the impious beam across your eyes;
 And I believe I have my just deserts
 Lacking the shadow of peace upon our hearts.

The positions of the two women in their love, to be sure, are reversed. Elinor's was not a happy passion, with life and the world newly opened before her. Her tones are sombre and the shadow of death is palpably spreading over her. Physically much stronger than Elizabeth Barrett, she was temperamentally much more fragile. She had been familiar with the theme of death from the beginning; it was hardly a youthful moroseness in a woman of thirty, but rather an instinctive awareness of her own feeble hold on life. In the sonnets of her last collection it is almost a pervading theme and it is the burden of several other poems besides. It was as a presage of the approaching end. In October, while in England, she had a slight cerebral hemorrhage from which she recovered. In New York, in

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December, with the manuscript of her last poems just finished for the press, she suffered a second stroke and died peacefully on December 16th, 1928.

Elinor Wylie has been acclaimed by her friends as a "great" poet. Measured, not by the quantity of her output, but by the depth and breadth of her poetical experience, the claim is exaggerated. Her world was limited by her own self and there was not much human sympathy to widen her artistic horizon. Beyond herself she experienced her books. She was essentially a library poet and even in her latest work she was only beginning to pass beyond these limits — at an age over forty. Adjectives of size and weight are inappropriate in her case; for if anything, she was a rare poet, expressing rather the secondary virtues of art than the primary ones. Refinement is her essential characteristic as an artist. She had an exquisite sense of the musical and associative value of words; she once wrote a sonnet (uncollected) on this her prime gift. She possessed, besides, an exceptional power of imagery that is more prevalent in her prose than her verse. Her faculty of creating human character, on the other hand, was only rudimentary and never fully developed; her "Shiloh" will hardly do as a portrait of the man Shelley. She was not a poet whose experience plumbed the depth of human life; indeed, she did not even touch bottom in her own generation. But of that post-war age, even now become historical, she was one of the finest spirits, in her quietly breezy detachment like a rest-room in a department store. Aloof as she was in her human relationships, her work will remain apart in the stream of American literature, a thing of fragile beauty and exquisite artificiality.

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

Notes and News

Astrology in Shakespeare's "Lear"

In *The Tragedy of King Lear*, several of the major characters attribute their misfortunes to the influence of the stars; the Bastard Edmund, indeed, exploits this popular belief as a means of advancing his wicked designs; and yet, in this as in other Shakespearean plays, most critics have noted but casually the astrological references. Wilson points out some of the more obvious examples; and he suggests that their consistency would indicate somewhat more than a passing interest in the subject.¹ Cumberland Clark concludes that "as a poet and a working dramatist he adopted and accepted the affirmations of astrology, but that ... he knew that self-responsibility and the power of each individual to work out his own salvation ... were the truths of the universe;"² but Clark's arguments are not conclusive: for, if Shakespeare adopted the affirmations of astrology only

¹ William Wilson, *Shakespeare & Astrology*, Boston, 1903.

² Cumberland Clark, *Shakespeare and Science*, Birmingham, 1929, 59.

that they ran through many editions;¹⁰ and innumerable references and allusions in general literature appealed as well to the superstitious as to the æsthetic. The astrologers, however, did but seldom enjoy the untroubled life they so frequently forecast for others: even in early times, skeptics attacked the validity of astral divination; in the Italian Renaissance, astrological belief was often associated with religious skepticism;¹¹ and, throughout the age of Elizabeth, the controversy still raged. Elizabeth herself, though she at times consulted the astral omniscience of Dr. John Dee, seems generally to have distrusted astrologers — perhaps because the Catholic powers used adverse predictions against her.¹² Petty quarrels and jealousies constantly endangered the prestige of the profession; and some writers ventured a reasoned attack against it; but, in spite of such hardy souls as William Fulke¹³ and Philip Stubbes,¹⁴ the skeptics were usually inclined to criticize, as Chaucer does, only the abuses of the "science."¹⁵ Lemnie ranks the stars as second only to the humours as influences upon man's life;¹⁶ and Henry Cuffe,¹⁷ writing in 1600, compromises, like Calvin,¹⁸ by limiting the powers of astrology. John Chamber, on the other hand, devotes a compendious volume to a bitter arraignment of the "science;"¹⁹ and Sir Christopher Heydon, in its defence, is even more voluminous; and equally bitter.²⁰ Chamber wrote a rebuttal, which was never published;²¹ but, with Chamber's death, shortly after the accession of James I, their personal quarrel subsided.

In 1603, King James arrived in England as the *dux in nomine* of those who opposed judicial astrology; but conviction, not skepticism, motivated James' attack: for, although he allowed the "science" to be "one of the speciall members of the *Mathematicques*," yet he termed it the "Divels schoole;" and the "miserable wretches" who practise it "are become in very deede, bond-slaues to their mortall enemie: and their knowledge, for all that they presume thereof, is nothing increased, except in knowing evill, and the horrors of Hell for punishment thereof..."²² James, indeed, divides into two parts the "preaching of the starres," according to the object of the inquirer: if the motive be merely the desire of "knowing thereby the powers of simples, and sicknesses, the course of the seasons

¹⁰ *Ibid.* See also *STC*.

¹¹ J. Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, tr. Middlemore, Vienna, n.d., 6.

¹² Sanford V. Larkey, "Astrology and Politics in the First Years of Elizabeth's Reign," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*, Vol. III, No. 3, March, 1935, 171-186.

¹³ William Fulke, *Antiprognoticon*, 1560. See Larkey, *op. cit.*, 171 *et seq.*; and Francis R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1937, 306.

¹⁴ Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), ed. Furnivall, 1882, Part II, 55-66.

¹⁵ Walter C. Curry, *Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences*, New York (Oxford University Press), 1926, chapters VI and VII.

¹⁶ Leuine Lemnie, *The Touchstone of the Complexions*, tr. Thomas Newton, London, 1581, leaves 100 *v* and 101 *v*.

¹⁷ Henry Cuffe, *The Differences of the Ages of mans life*, London, 1607, leaf H5 *r* and *v*. See also Francis R. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 322.

¹⁸ Jean Calvin, *Institution de la Religion Chrétienne* (1560), ed. Baumgartner, Geneva, 1888.

¹⁹ John Chamber, *A Treatise Against Iudicial Astrologie*, 1601. See *STC*.

²⁰ Sir Christopher Heydon, *A Defence of Iudicial Astrologie*, Cambridge, 1603.

²¹ See *DNB.*, *sub* Chamber.

²² James I, *Daemonologie* (1597), ed. Harrison, London, 1924, 10 *et seq.*

for its box-office appeal, why, in *King Lear*, does he subject the pseudo-science to scathing satire? Schelling takes the astrological references in *Lear* merely as evidence of the poet's interest in the supernatural;³ and Camden accepts Shakespeare's use of the "science" as proof of its widespread appeal.⁴ In these general surveys, certain examples from *King Lear* have engaged critical notice; but practically nothing of a complete and systematic nature has yet appeared. Perhaps this neglect is due to the difficulty of the play; and, in its diversity of motives and themes, the significance of the astrological material is not at first apparent. Although James I attributed to the pseudo-science a multiplicity of divisions,⁵ yet the two chief branches were *natural* and *horary*: the first, through emphasis on the horoscope, would seem to subject the fortunes of the individual to the influence of the stars predominant at his birth; and the second would undertake to inform him, at any given moment in his life, of modifications of this astral influence through subsequent maneuvers of the heavenly bodies. The term *judicial*, at first serving to designate that branch of astrology that concerned itself with human affairs, came to be loosely applied to the subject as a whole.⁶ In *King Lear*, as elsewhere, Shakespeare seems unconcerned with the more detailed trappings of the "science;" but, despite the fact that astrology does not appear in the probable sources,⁷ he devotes considerable space to a satirical attack on the popular belief in the system. The object of the present study is to determine, by a reconsideration of the astrological controversy of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the significance of this addition to Shakespeare's source-material. Such an inquiry into the attitude of Elizabethans generally, toward the truth of astrology as a science, and specifically into Shakespeare's treatment of the science, must naturally follow chronological lines, in order to ascertain whether any marked change in the playwright's attitude was concurrent with, and possibly caused by, similar changes on the part of those for whom he wrote.

The stars, according to the Elizabethans, exerted their influence upon all men, in all places, and at all times: the entire course of a human life must, of necessity, follow certain rules established by the configuration of the heavens at conception or at birth; in times of stress, one might placate his astral guides, or might await more favorable signs; but rarely did one escape or evade the decrees of the "fated" sky.⁸ So commonplace and, indeed, so pertinent to the welfare of the individual, were the tenets of astrology, that even the "general reader" affected a knowledge of its simpler terms;⁹ and the ephemeral literature of Elizabethan London was rich in treatments of the subject: almanacks and prognostications annually filled the bookstalls; a few more technical handbooks were so much in demand

³ Felix E. Schelling, *Shakespeare and 'Demi-Science'*, Philadelphia, 1927.

⁴ Carroll Camden, Jr., "Astrology in Shakespeare's Day", *Isis* XIX, 1 (April 1933), 72-73.

⁵ James I, *Daemonologie*, (ed. princ. 1597), ed. Harrison, London, 1924, 13-14. See also *NED.*, s.v.

⁶ *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1917, I, 456. See also *NED.*, s.v.

⁷ See *The Tragedy of King Lear*, Furness variorum edition.

⁸ Ruth Leila Anderson, "Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays," *University of Iowa Humanistic Studies*, Vol. III, No. 4, 1927, 53 *et passim*.

⁹ L. B. Wright, *Middle Class Literature in Elizabethan England*, Chapel Hill, [N. C.], 1935, 594.

and the weather, ... it is not vnlawful, being moderatlie vsed;" but if the object

is to trust so much to their influences, as thereby to fore-tell what common-weales shall florish or decay: what persones shall be fortunate or vnfortunate: what side shall winne in anie battell: What man shall obtaine victorie at singular combate: What way, and of what age shall men die: What horse shall winne at matche-running; and diuerse such like incredible things, ... [it] is vtterlie vnlawful to be trusted in, or practiced amongst christians, as leaning to no ground of natural Reason: & it is this part which I called before the deuils schole.²³

Although astrology, as an instrument of evil, aroused James' distrust, yet he admits that "manie of the learned are of the contrarie opinion;"²⁴ but "One word onely I will answet [sic] to them, & that in the Scriptures (which must be an infallible ground to all true Christians) That in the Prophet *Ieremie* it is plainelie forbidden, to beleue or hearken vnto them that Prophecies & fore-speakes by the course of the Planets & Starres."²⁵ Astrology, therefore, however harmless in certain respects, is the devil's snare: it leads to witchcraft; and witchcraft, to damnation. King James was Satan's "greatest enemy ... in the world;"²⁶ and, as such, his ideas on witchcraft and astrology were widely known.²⁷ John Chamber, in dedicating to him *A Confutation of Astrological Dæmonology in the Devil's School*,²⁸ apparently sought to flatter by a reflection of the very terms used by James; and he declares, moreover, that "as your Maiestie both by worde and writing hath made sufficient declaration of Your dislike of all superstition and impietie: so were it to bee wished that this superstitious limme might goe with the rest of that corrupt bodie..."²⁹ Chamber, indeed, "beset and baited of a number of Demonologists, in so iust a cause ... had no way, but to flie to your sacred Maiestie for protection, who had alreadie foreiudged the cause ... For who can bee found either so blinde or so bolde, that he dares or can dissent from your Graces so exact and perfect iudgement?"³⁰ Perhaps because of his Puritan upbringing — for the Puritans generally disapproved the "science"³¹ — King James was emphatic in his condemnation of astrology; and his accession to the throne of England meant a marked quickening, on the part of English writers, of interest in witches, demons, and the stars.³²

Shakespeare definitely and directly employs astrological terms some eighty times; and even more numerous are the implied allusions. Thirty-seven such passages occur in the works generally dated prior to 1600; fifteen, from 1600 to *King Lear*; and, in the play itself, six. Shakespeare's references are ubiquitous, and occur in his poems, comedies, histories and

²³ *Ibid.*, 13-14.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 14.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Newses from Scotland declaring the Damnable Life and Death of Doctor Fian, a notable Sorcerer* (1591), ed. Harrison, London, 1924, 15.

²⁷ Cf. George Lyman Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, Cambridge [Mass.], 1929, Chapter XVII.

²⁸ John Chamber, *A Confutation of Astrological Dæmonology in the Devil's School*, (Dedication to James I, dated 2 February 1603/4), MS. Savile 42 (Bodleian Library).

²⁹ John Chamber, *Confutation*, leaf 1 v.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, leaf 2 r.

³¹ Larkey, *op. cit.*

³² *Shakespeare's England*, I, 540.

tragedies.³³ In the earlier works, his attitude toward astrology is generally favorable; and the supposed attack on it by the impulsive Hotspur, in *I Henry IV*, is uttered in the heat of an argument with Glendower.³⁴ In *Titus Andronicus*, both the noble Marcus and the villainous Aaron show a familiarity with planetary influence.³⁵ In *Romeo and Juliet* Shakespeare attempts to achieve Aristotelian inevitability by depicting an improbable tissue of circumstance as due, at least in part, to astral influence.³⁶ In *Julius Caesar*, he adopts *in toto* the astrological material so prominent in Plutarch: practically every character, with the possible exception of Cicero, expresses or implies a firm belief in the tenets of astrology; even Cicero, himself apparently unmoved by the supernatural phenomena, does not enlighten the credulous Casca;³⁷ and Cassius, moreover, though skeptical at first, in the end does "partly credit things that do presage."³⁸ Even the skeptical Horatio, in *Hamlet*, a few years before *King Lear*, seems clearly to express a complete belief in astrological phenomena.³⁹

King Lear believes in astrology. Although he swears by various pagan gods, by "the mysteries of Hecate, and the night," yet he reinforces this most pregnant oath "by all the operation of the orbs From whom we do exist and cease to be."⁴⁰ Like Edmund, he invokes the goddess "Nature;"⁴¹ similarly, he finds himself betrayed; and the "wrathful skies"⁴² of the storm through which he passes — and which he imputes to the power of the "great gods"⁴³ — would seem to indicate a sort of meteorological-astral phenomenon like that in *Julius Caesar* when the dictator is about to be assassinated.⁴⁴ Practically all of his followers, moreover, appear to be in accord with Lear's astrological leanings. The faithful Kent, who alone dares oppose the sovereign will, tempers his audacity by likening Lear to some auspicious star;⁴⁵ he refers to kings and potentates as "throned and set high" by "their great stars;"⁴⁶ and, in speaking of Lear's three daughters, he declares:

It is the stars,
The stars above us, govern our conditions;
Else one self mate and mate could not beget
Such different issues.⁴⁷

Edgar also believes in some system of divine retribution, though perhaps not definitely astrological; in his Tom o' Bedlam disguise, he displays a certain degree of familiarity with the charms of black magic which, according to James I, so often accompanied judicial astrology; and Gloucester readily believes the story of his son's wicked machinations, of his "conjuring the moon To stand auspicious mistress."⁴⁸ Gloucester, indeed, is thoroughly steeped in astrological lore; and he emphatically voices the popular belief:

³³ See Schmidt, *Shakespeare-Lexicon*; and Bartlett's *Concordance*.

³⁴ *I Henry IV*, III, i, 13 ff. See Miss Anderson, *op. cit.*, 60.

³⁵ *Titus Andronicus*, II, iii; III, i; and IV, ii.

³⁶ John W. Draper, "Shakespeare's Star-Crossed Lovers," about to appear in *RES*.

³⁷ *Julius Caesar*, I, iiii.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III, ii, 49.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, V, i, 92.

⁴⁴ *Julius Caesar*, I, iiii; II, i and ii.

³⁹ *Hamlet*, I, i, 117 ff.

⁴⁵ *Lear*, II, ii, 114 ff.

⁴⁰ *Lear*, I, i, 108 ff.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, III, i, 22 ff.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I, iv, 297.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, IV, iii, 32 ff.

⁴² *Ibid.*, III, ii, 43.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, II, i, 41-42.

These late eclipses in the sun and moon portend no good to us; though the wisdom of nature can reason it thus and thus, yet nature finds itself scourged by the sequent effects; love cools, friendship falls off, brothers divide: in cities, mutinies; in countries, discord; in palaces, treason; and the bond cracked 'twixt son and father. This villain of mine comes under the prediction; there's son against father; the king falls from bias of nature; there's father against child.⁴⁹

Edmund's attitude is perhaps the most elusive of all: he hails "Nature" as his goddess, to whose law his services are bound; but he concludes this very speech with an invocation to the gods: "Now, gods, stand up for bastards!"⁵⁰ Perhaps his years of foreign travel and sojourning have so perfected him in cosmopolitan skepticism that he has forgotten the conventional trappings of religion — or perhaps, like some skeptics, he embraces them all. He scorns, in effect, all supernatural influence;⁵¹ but, at the point of death, he agrees with Edgar's fatalism,⁵² and he alludes to Fortune's wheel:

Edg. The gods are just, and of our pleasant vices
make instruments to plague us.
The dark and vicious place where thee he got
Cost him [Gloucester] his eyes.
Edm. Th'hast spoken right; 'tis true;
The wheel is come full circle; I am here.⁵³

To Edmund, the stars are not divine agents; they are mere symbols of human stupidity. When he learns of Gloucester's belief in astrology, his dark purpose is already fully formed;⁵⁴ this he immediately seizes upon as a convenient instrument of evil; and he gloats in private over the popular credulity that makes possible the success of his plans.⁵⁵ Edgar, however, does not readily respond to the cyclopaedic prediction with which his brother tests him:

Edm. I am thinking, brother, of a prediction I read this other day, what should follow these eclipses.

Edg. Do you busy yourself with that?

Edm. I promise you the effects he writes of succeed unhappily; as of unnaturalness between the child and the parent; death, dearth, dissolutions of ancient amities; divisions in state, menaces and maledictions against king and nobles; needless diffidences, banishment of friends, dissipation of cohorts, nuptial breaches, and I know not what.

Edg. How long have you been a sectary astronomical?

Edm. Come, come, when saw you my father last?⁵⁶

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, ii, 98 ff.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, I, ii, 22.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, ii, 144. See also: Miss Anderson, *op. cit.*, 59-60; and Hardin Craig, "The Ethics of King Lear", *Phil. Quar.*, IV, 1925, 104.

⁵² Astrologers must be fatalists. See Miss F. M. Grimm, "Astrological Lore in Chaucer," *University of Nebraska Studies*, No. 2, 1919, 69.

⁵³ *Lear*, V, iii, 170 ff. James I gives a similar version of this idea when he advises his son to apply "the bypast things to the present estate, *quia nihil nouum sub sole*: such is the continuall volubilitie of things earthly, according to the roundnesse of the world, and reuolution of the, [*sic*] heauenly circles: which is expressed by the wheeles in Ezechiels visions, and counterfeited by the Poets in *rota Fortunae*." See James I, *Politick Works*, ed. McIlwain, Cambridge Mass., 1918, 40.

⁵⁴ *Lear*, I, ii.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, I, ii, 152 ff.

Apparently uncomfortable in his role of devotee, Edmund abruptly changes his tactics: he proceeds to bend Edgar to his will by wild tales of his father's displeasure; and he incites Gloucester to blind rage by equally wild tales of his son's misdeeds. Not for long can Edmund dissemble the true feelings he reveals in soliloquy:

This is the excellent foppery of the world, that when we are sick in fortune, — often the surfeit of our own behaviour, — we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and stars; as if we were villains on necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion, knaves, thieves, and treachers, by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are evil in, by a divine thrusting on. An admirable evasion of whoremaster man, to lay his goatish disposition to the charge of a star! My father compounded with my mother under the dragon's tail, and my nativity was under Ursa major; so that it follows I am rough and lecherous. Tut, I should have been that I am, had the maidenliest star in the firmament twinkled on my bastardizing.⁵⁷

Most critics concede that *King Lear* probably appeared shortly after the accession of James I;⁵⁸ and an examination of the treatment of astrological phenomena in this play would seem to indicate a studied attempt to compliment the king: for, although Shakespeare in his earlier works somewhat reflects the current astrological debate, yet he subjects the pseudo-science to no serious attack; but, in *King Lear*, his attitude changes: here he portrays astrology as a vehicle of villainy in the hands of the profane; and, even to its true believers, a false and traitorous guide. King Lear, notwithstanding his faith in the stars, lives only to lose all faith; his loyal followers, Gloucester, Edgar and Kent, likewise suffer in their sovereign's astrological disaster; and the iconoclast, Edmund, in his downward career, renounces his skepticism for the scant comfort of an utter submission to his fate. Albany alone, of all the major characters, appears to ignore the heavenly signs; and Albany seems to represent King James himself.⁵⁹ In an age when artistic expression so generally reflected the ideology of the great and the near-great, the designation of Shakespeare's company as "the King's Men" might in itself be sufficient to warrant a search, in the works of the poet, for the influence of the patron's known opinions and ideals; and especially in a period such as that of 1603-4, in which the plague closed the public theaters most of the time,⁶⁰ and in which most of the plays written must therefore have been calculated expressly for court performance, the influence of the courtly taste would appear to be a foregone conclusion. In *Measure for Measure*, written just about this time, the character of Vincentio has been called a pattern of James I.⁶¹ In *Macbeth*, just prior to *King Lear*, and apparently a direct compliment to King James,⁶² Shakespeare treats of the sin of witchcraft, without mentioning astrology; in *King Lear*, he treats of astral belief as a prelude to damnation; and in *Othello*, just after *Lear*, Iago continues in the spirit

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, ii, 128 ff.

⁵⁸ See John W. Draper, "The Occasion of *King Lear*," *SP.*, XXXIV, 2, (April 1937), 176-185.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 181-182.

⁶⁰ See F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London*, Oxford, 1927, 110 ff.

⁶¹ Louis Albrecht, *Neue Untersuchungen über die Quelle von Shakespeares "Mass für Mass"*, Berlin, 1914, 129 et seq.

⁶² John W. Draper, "Macbeth as a Compliment to James I," *Englische Studien*, LXXII, 2, 207-220.

of Edmund, when he uses the stars for perjury.⁶³ Critics have all but exhausted the machinery of the universe in attempting to localize and date "these late eclipses in the sun and moon;" but, in view of the fact that *King Lear*, even in its treatment of astrology, seems calculated to court consumption, might not these phenomena, as further examples of that "counterfeiting by the poets" which James himself mentions, be occasioned by no diviner "thrusting on" than the known *dicta* of the king?

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English Studies at Zürich. Dr. Heinrich Straumann, author of *Newspaper Headlines, a Study in Linguistic Method*, has been appointed to the chair vacated by the death of Professor Bernhard Fehr at the University of Zürich.

Corrigenda. Readers of the article on Hume's Theory of Taste in the October number are requested to make the following corrections: p. 195, 1st par., l. 10, for 'the discussion' read 'this discussion'; p. 194, n. 4, 1st par., line 8, for 'though he uses them' read 'though he accepts them'; *ibid.*, 2nd par., first line, for 'he articles' read 'the articles'.

Reviews

Zur Geographie des mittelenglischen Wortschatzes. Von ROLF KAISER. (Palaestra 205.) (8) + 318 pp. + one map. Leipzig: Mayer & Müller. 1937. RM. 12.

The treatise for discussion here is a very important contribution, which breaks new ground and which will be of considerable help in the difficult task of localizing Middle English texts. Dr. Kaiser is of course not the first scholar who has adduced the vocabulary as a criterion of dialect. To take one example, Curt Barth, *Der Wortschatz des Cursor Mundi* (1903), concludes from certain words peculiar to Scottish and found in the text, that the C. M. must have originated near the Scottish border. But Dr. Kaiser's book is the first attempt at a systematic study of the problem.

Dr. Kaiser takes as his starting-point the various MSS. of *Cursor Mundi*. He assumes — with good reason, as it seems to me — that the C. M. was

⁶³ *Othello*, III, iii, 527 ff.

written in Scotland. Some MSS. must have been written there or in the North of England, while others were copied in the Midlands or South. These latter often show a vocabulary different from that in Northern MSS. Certain words were avoided by Southern or Midland scribes, because they were unfamiliar to the scribes themselves or to their prospective public. By a study of these differences Dr. Kaiser is enabled to establish a very considerable number of "Nordwörter" (north-words). The chief MSS. used are F (Fairfax 14), T (Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 3. 8), as compared with E (Edinburgh MS.), C (Cotton Vesp. A III), and G (Göttingen MS). In localizing these MSS. Dr. Kaiser is content to follow Hupe, who places T in the South of the ancient diocese of Hereford, F in the Western part of the ancient archdiocese of York. It might have been worth mentioning that MS F is supposed to have been written in Lancaster (see Moore, Meech & Whitehall, *Dialect Characteristics*, in *Essays and Studies*, Univ. of Michigan, XIII). Of the two MSS F and T, the latter goes farther in rejecting "north-words", but to a great extent the two show objection to the same words.

Next Dr. Kaiser examines the various (Northern and Southern) versions of some other texts, as the *Legendaries*, the two versions of Grosseteste's *Chateau d'Amour*, and others, and finds the results gained from the C. M. corroborated. He is also able to establish a number of "Südwörter" (south-words). Curiously enough, the only "south-word" in C. M. T is *arere*, none being adduced from F.

In the second part Dr. Kaiser tests his lists and supplements them by adducing material from a number of other Northern texts, as Richard Rolle's works (the fact that his authorship of *Pricke of Conscience* is now disputed¹ is not mentioned), Barbour's *Bruce*, *York Plays* and others, also Mirk's *Festial* and Audelay's *Poems* (from which some north-words are adduced); further a number of Southern texts, as *Owl & Nightingale*, Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, Shoreham's poems, *Ayenbite*. Apart from the two Shropshire texts (Mirk and Audelay), no Midland texts are considered here.

In the third part, the attempt is made to localize certain texts by the help of word-geography, as the *Genesis & Exodus*, *Sir Tristrem* and others. Gen. & Ex. reveals a considerable number of north-words and a good deal of affinity with Robert Manning; hence it is placed near and somewhat south of the latter. A full discussion is devoted to the works of the Gawain poet (*Sir Gawain*, *Alliterative Poems*, and *St. Erkenwald*). The very considerable number of north-words is held to point to a more northerly district than south Lancs., most probably Westmorland or Cumberland.

The fourth part gives full lists of north-words and south-words, with etymologies and arranged alphabetically. For these lists the author has excerpted the greater part of the ME texts available in print.² The collection is highly valuable, and it must have cost immense labour and care. It is a striking fact, on which the author comments in the Introduction, that the list of north-words fills 100 pages, that of south-words only 13 pages. The south-words have been collected almost exclusively from really southern texts.

¹ Cf. Emily Hope Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle* (1927), pp. 372 ff.

² The list of texts used fills 16 closely printed pages.

Here many readers will ask what has become of the Midland material. Are there no words characteristic of Midland dialects? A good many words from Midland texts are given, but mostly under north-words, e.g. words from Robert Manning, Havelok, Gen. & Ex. Under *gret* 'greet', for instance, we find examples from Gen. & Ex., Langland, Wyclif, under *grete* 'to weep' from Gen. & Ex., Mirk, King Horn, Havelok, Robert Man., Dame Sirih, Wyclif and so on. It may be questioned whether such words are correctly termed north-words. But the apparent absence of a special category of Midland words is doubtless not fortuitous. Probably there are few words used in Midland texts that cannot be exemplified also in Southern or in Northern texts. Still an investigation into the normal vocabulary of Midland texts is necessary, if we are to be able to use word-geography for the purpose of localizing Midland texts.

One objection may be raised against the method used in localizing *Sir Gawain* etc., and this objection may have a wider application. In the first chapter the author classifies the words into Old English, Scandinavian, French etc. It is a remarkable fact that the OE words number 112, the Scand. ones 165. In fact, some words given as Old English should be carried over to Scand. words, e.g. *bek*, *bi*, *clumsed*, *fā* 'few', *mele*, *min* 'memory', while others may be Scand. equally well as Old English, as *barn*, *fang*, *gang*. It is clear that a very great proportion of the north-words are Scand. ones. Consequently, a great proportion of north-words in a text is an indication of strong Scand. influence. In Lancashire there were very strong Scandinavian settlements, also in the southern half, as place-names show. In these circumstances, it may be questioned whether the large number of "north-words" in *Sir Gawain* etc. precludes their being placed in South Lancashire.

A few points of detail may be briefly discussed.

It has already been hinted that the division in Chap. I gives rise to some criticism. It may be added that some words given among "Wörter anderer Etymologie" etc. (p. 71 ff.) should certainly be added to Scandinavian words, as *cauel* 'lot', *file* sb., *fro* sb., *harsk*, *lend* 'protection'.

Some of the etymologies in Chap. IV are open to criticism. Thus *eri* 'timid' p. 197 is clearly a dial. form of OE *earg*, not from ir. *airy*. Cf. *weri* from OE *wearg* in place-names such as Wreighill (olim *Werihil*), Wreigh Burn in Northumberland. — *Farrand* p. 198 is surely not from Gael. *farranta*, but from the ON pres. part. *farandi*. — *Firth* p. 200 comes from OE *fyrhþ* 'copse'. — *Helde* 'to favour' p. 213 is probably to be derived from OE *hyldo* 'favour'. — *Lasce* 'lass' p. 219 should surely not be derived from a Scand. **lasqua*. MSwed. *löska* is a derivative of *lös* = ON *lauss*. — *Midding* p. 226 is derived from OE *midding*, ON *moddyngia*. An OE *midding* is, of course, unrecorded, and so is the ON form given. The base is ODan *møgdyngē*. By the way, the spelling of Old Norse forms is often unsatisfactory. — *Outh* 213 is doubtless from *ufan-wiþ*, not from **uf* + *wiþ*.

But these minor mistakes or inaccuracies do not seriously affect the value of the book. We look forward with interest to the author's further contributions to the subject.

Facsimile of the Ancient Map of Great Britain in the Bodleian Library. Oxford. A.D. 1325-50. Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, 1870. Major General Sir Henry James. R. E., F. R. S., &c., Director. Price 1/6.

A facsimile of the interesting old map of Great Britain in the Bodleian Library was published in 1870, and it has now been reprinted with the important difference that a transliteration in red is written against the old names, something that will greatly facilitate the use of the map. Some names were omitted in the original facsimile, probably because they were thought unreadable; in the reprint a transliteration is given also of such names.

The map has not been made much use of by place-name students hitherto, and in reality it does not offer quite so much help as might be expected, for the places found in it are mostly such as were of comparative importance and are therefore generally recorded in earlier sources. Yet the map often gives valuable information. Braydon Water Norf., for instance, is recorded in the important form *fluius Braydynq*, and the river Wiley in Wilts appears as *Wely*. The earlier name of the East Riding Wolds is given as *Yorkwold*; the earliest instance in my Place-name Dictionary is *Yorke-wold* 1472-5, while that in the *Place-names of the East Riding* is later still. Some of the names in the map I have been unable to identify. Probably some have been misplaced or are miswritten, but others may be now lost names. Thus *Malsted* and *Yawhour* are given near each other north of Hastings. The first may be for Halstead, but the other is obscure. Two places *Harde* and *Heworth* are found north of Hexham, which is nameless, between the two arms of the Tyne. Possibly *Harde* might refer to Warden, but *Heworth* remains unexplained. *Stowe* in Lancs. between Winwick and Prescott might be the present St. Helens; if so, the chapel at that place must be a good deal older than 1540, the date usually given.

The map contains many interesting names beyond those of towns and villages and the like. Names of counties are rarely inserted, except for the south and east coasts as far as the Wash: *Cornubia*, *Deuonia*, *Somerset*, *Dorset*, *Kent*, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*. *Sussex* and *Hants* are not named. Old names of districts often take the place of names of counties, e.g. *Lyndesey*, *Holand*, *Kesteuen*, *Axiholm*, also the enigmatic *Ageland* (south-west of Grimsby) in Lincs., *Aundernes* in Lancs., *Kendale* in Westmorland, *Holdernes* in Yorks. Several forests are mentioned, as *Nova Foresta* Hants, *foresta de Dene* Gloucs., Heref., *Arderne* Warw., *Blakemore* Yorks., *Ingelwode* Cumb. Hill names are unfortunately given only rarely. Rivers are usually named in the north, rarely in the south. The White Horse in Berks is very prominently marked as *Albus Equus*. The map also gives some miscellaneous information here and there. Against *Bardesey* (Wales) is written: *ubi sunt britonum vaticinatores*, and at Sutherland (Scotland) it says: *Hic habundant lupi*.

The name-forms in the map are not always easy to decipher, and the transliteration will be found very helpful. But it is to be regretted that the transcriptions are not always correct; at least they do not in all cases agree with the name-forms in the facsimile. It does not matter much that *y* is sometimes put for *i*, as *Derlyngton* for *Derlington* (Darlington Du), *Poklyngton* for *Poklington* (Pocklington Yks) or *Wynwyke* for *Wynwike*

(Winwick La). More serious is *lymyng* for *leming* (Leeming Yks.). Some cases may be dealt with more fully.

The situation of places generally tells us what place is meant, and this is a great help in deciphering names, for when we know what form to expect, the reading often becomes easy. Tarn Wadling Cu is given. *Wathela* is plain, but before it stands something which is left untransliterated. The usual early form is *Tern Wathelan*. The map clearly has *t'ne Wathelan*. In Northumberland just south of the Roman Wall we find a place whose name is rendered *Reswall*. Thirlwall is meant, and the map has *threlwall* or possibly *threswall* (with a long *s*). *Caldeli* Cu refers to the river Caldw; the map form is *Caldew*. A place in Lincs. is given as *Burton Leather*. Burton on Stather is meant; it was formerly *Burton Stather*, which is the form in the map. In Derby is found a place whose name is transcribed *Banwell*. Bakewell is meant; this was formerly often *Bauquell* or the like. The map form is *Baukwell* (or *Bankwell*). Higham Ferrers Northants appears as *Hegham*; the transliterated form is *Heghnam*. Aller Yorks is *Aller*, not *Alier*. Thirsk ib. is *Thresk*, not *Thresh*.

Not quite so clear are the following cases. The name-form for Hartlepool looks to me more like *Hertliepoll* than *Herthepoll*. *Burndon* may be the right reading for the name of what is now *Burnham* Norf., but the latter is doubtless the form meant. *Mayfeld*, the name of a place near Ashbourne, must be Macclesfield Ches. The right reading is probably *Maxfeld*; *x* and *y* are often much alike in medieval writing. Between Huntingdon and Wansford a place is found with a name transliterated as *Ogerston*. *Stelton* (Stilton) is slightly to the north of it. So far as I can see, the map has *M'ston* (*Merston*) for what is transliterated *Ogerston*, but no place Marston seems to be known in the neighbourhood. *Ogerston* is (or was) north of Stilton and can hardly be meant. Probably there is here a mistake of the old map-maker's.

The inaccuracies noted here are not all I have found, but after all the inaccurate transliterations are not very numerous comparatively speaking, and most users of the map will easily find the correct readings themselves. We owe a debt of gratitude to the Ordnance Survey Office for having rendered the valuable old map again easily accessible to the public.

Lund.

EILERT EKWALL.

Boccaccio in der englischen Literatur von Chaucer bis Painters Palace of Pleasure. Von JOSEF RAITH. (Aus Schrifttum und Sprache der Angelsachsen. Hrsg. von Rudolf Hittmair und Robert Spindler, Bd. III). 167 pp. Leipzig: Robert Noske. 1936. RM. 5.—.

Though particular aspects of Dr. Raith's fascinating subject have often been discussed by students of Chaucer and the Elizabethan dramatists, the whole of it has not yet found adequate treatment. The present little book will prove immensely valuable in the hands of the scholar (perhaps Dr. Raith himself?) who will give us a complete account of the problem

'Boccaccio in English Literature'. It offers considerably more than what its title promises; yet it cannot be said to contain, itself, that complete account, even for the period between Chaucer and Painter. The fact that the book as we have it bears all the characteristics of an able sketch is well explained by the author's remarks on its genesis.

Dr. Raith first set out to prepare an edition of the me. tales discussed by J. Zupitza in an article called 'Die mittellenglischen Bearbeitungen der Erzählung Boccaccios von Ghismonda und Guiscardo' (*Vierteljahrsschrift für Kultur und Litteratur der Renaissance*, Bd. I). He soon found that the texts in question would be of little interest if treated in isolation and conceived the more ambitious project of editing all the English versions of tales by Boccaccio (= B.) composed before 1567 and of writing the history of the Italian's influence during the period thus limited. Having executed this plan, he discovered that Professor H. G. Wright had prepared the same texts for publication by the E.E.T.S., and, consequently, decided to print his critical and historical account of the subject only.

This irregular development has left its marks on the present treatise, which advances at a somewhat uneven pace, and displays rather puzzling proportions. Its core is formed by the discussion of two me. and five early ne. translations of tales by B. Except the story of 'Titus and Gisippus' in Elyot's *Gouvernour*, they are by no means very remarkable productions. However, they raise a number of questions that cannot be answered without careful investigation. What, for instance, is the relation between the two me. metrical versions of the tale of *Guystard and Sismond* (*Decameron*, IV. 1), the first by Gilbert Banister, the second anonymous? Dr. Raith develops and corrects Zupitza's views on this point. A reader who is unable to consult the texts themselves will find it difficult to follow some of his explanations, especially those on 'Das den beiden Fassungen gemeinsame Stück und die gemeinsame Quelle' (pp. 83 ff.). Like the two versions mentioned, William Walter's metrical romances *Guystarde and Sygysmonde* and *Tytus and Gesyppus* (*Decameron*, X. 8) have not been translated from the Italian originals but are indirectly or directly derived from Latin texts. This is different in the cases of the 'History of Galesus Cymon and Iphigenia ... Translated out of Italian into Englishe verse, by T. C. Gent.' (*Decameron*, V. 1; about 1560) and the 'Hystorie of Nastagio and Trauersari ... Translated out of Italian into Englishe verse by C. T.' (*Decameron*, V. 8; 1569). Dr. Raith adduces good reasons for his opinion that one and the same author has translated them from the originals. TC/CT is comparatively free from the earlier translator's tendency to moralize B.'s tales, and simply enjoys them for their own sakes; an attitude that spread among English authors and readers as the second part of the 16th century advanced.

Dr. Raith handles these six metrical versions in an expert way, and offers us all we need to know about them in a concentrated form. Yet he turns with relief to the consideration of Eliot's 'Titus and Gisippus' (*Gouvernour*, II. XII), since here he is not dealing with a mere translation, but with a work reshaped from a new point of view. While admitting that B.'s original already is a tale of friendship, he points out that Elyot stresses this central theme with particular force and exalts the supreme value of friendship between men in the spirit of the Italian Platonism of his time. The author assigns Elyot his place in the movement, and even furnishes a sketch of its development.

From the above material Dr. Raith has moved backward and forward in time in order to round off his study. He opens it with a discussion of B.'s most important present to the English: the inspiration and the materials he gave to Chaucer (= Ch.). The chapters treating 'B. and Ch.' contain good summaries of what we know of the subject and not a few original ideas; they are too brief, however, to form part of that complete account of which we have been speaking. A perusal of the 3½ pages devoted to the *Filostrato* and *Troilus and Criseyde* makes this particularly clear. Dr. Raith reduces the differences between the two masterpieces to four main points: 1. Ch. places more stress on the historical background than B. 2. The system of courtly love is left intact by Ch., but occasionally broken through by B. 3. The psychology of Ch.'s protagonists is more subtle than that of Troilo, Cressida and Pandaro. 4. The moral of Ch.'s work is otherworldly, medievalist; B.'s moral is quite practical, and belongs to this world. I readily admit that, in elaborating these points, Dr. Raith touches on many of the important questions that have to be raised by the student of the works. Yet most of his answers are uttered dogmatically; we are referred neither to the texts themselves, nor to specified remarks of other scholars. We should be very much interested, for instance, to learn how Dr. Raith proves his second point. Besides, there are a number of topics we should like to see more fully discussed: 1. The contrast between B.'s intense concentration on one aspect of life, love and Ch.'s wider realism, which manifests itself in his keener interest in characters and their ways of acting in different situations. Dr. Raith says too little of Ch.'s expansions of the short links connecting B.'s scenes of passion. 2. B.'s whole-hearted acceptance of the passion of love and Ch.'s actual, or only alleged, aloofness from it. 3. The remarkable fact that Ch. has worked out the psychology of Criseyde with infinitely more care than B. has spent on his Cressida, not in order to render her ultimate infidelity more comprehensible, but, on the contrary, to make it more unaccountable and to refer the surprised and disappointed reader to the influence of transcendental powers for an explanation. 4. The two poets' attitudes towards the conception of love as a cosmic principle.

I take the liberty of adding a few remarks concerning this last point. The kind of love that dominates the *Filostrato* is a purely earthly passion. B. does not attempt any sublimation by connecting it with the love of God or love as a cosmic principle. Nobody will question the first part of this last statement; the second, however, might be attacked on the basis of Troilo's song in stanzas 74-89 of the third part of the *Filostrato*. In it lines like the following are addressed to the goddess of love (quoted from N. E. Griffin and A. B. Myrick, *The Filostrato* of G. B., Philadelphia 1929):

Tu Giove prima agli alti effetti lieto,
Pe' qua' vivono e son tutte le cose,
Movesti, o bella dea; ... (Stanza 76).

Tu in unità le case e le cittadi,
Li regni, e le provincie, e 'l mondo tutto
Tien, bella dea; tu dell' amistadi
Se' cagion certa e di lor caro frutto:
Tu sola le nascose qualitadi
Delle cose conosci, onde 'l costrutto
Vi metti tal, che fai maravigliare
Chi tua potenza non sa riguardare (Stanza 78).

Tu legge, o dea, poni all' universo,
Per la qual esso in esser si mantiene;.. (Stanza 79).

Here, doubtlessly, we have the idealistic strain. But B. is careful to indicate that he wants us to consider this kind of language as a symptom of an emotional attitude, and nothing else. In doing this he employs a very sly method. He introduces stanza 88, which runs like this :

Segua chi vuole i regni e le ricchezze,
L'arme, i cavai, le selve, i can, gli uccelli,
Di Pallade gli studii e le prodezze
Di Marte, ch'io in mirare gli occhi belli
Della mia donna e le vere bellezze
Il tempo vo' por tutto, che son quelli
Che sopra Giove mi pongon, qualora
Gli miro, tando il cor se ne innamora,

and informs us almost immediately after (in stanzas 90 and 91) that Troilo was more active and efficient in arms at that time than ever before, and that he used to go fowling and hunting with dogs for bears, boars and great lions in times of truce. B.'s ironical intention is plain at once.

Ch. is less careful in the same matter. He admits the passionate view of love that is typical of the Italian poem into his own work, constantly indicating, it is true, his personal aloofness from it. He also admits the idealist view by turning part of Troilo's glowing song into his own prohemium to Book III. and by filling the gap resulting from this change (*Troilus*, III. 1744 ff.) with Boethius' famous pæan to love (*Consolatio*, Book II. Metrum 8). Moreover, there is the end of the whole poem, inspired by a third, entirely different conception of love, which is styled 'blynde lust, the which that may nat laste' and 'worldly vanite' (*Troilus*, V. 1824 & 1837). It is a rather important task of the critic of *Troilus and Criseyde* to show that the three at first sight contradictory attitudes towards love which Ch. takes at various points of his poem spring from a consistent view of human things. If this is found to be impossible there is no denying a serious blemish in Ch.'s work, a blemish — philosophical and aesthetical at the same time — which would justify, in part, the late Professor Legouis' judgment on the relative artistic values of the two poems we are discussing. In his *Geoffrey Chaucer* (translated by L. Laivaloix, London 1913) he has written :

As is inevitable, in every partial rehandling of a beautiful work, the harmony of the Italian poem as a whole has suffered He (i.e. Chaucer) hesitated too much between imitation and independence. ... He thought he could widen a work perfect in itself and still retain all its merits. Compared to Boccaccio's deftness and sureness of touch, revealing both mastery and national temperament, his inexperience seems a little clumsy, one might almost say if one dared, a little barbaric (p. 132).

We return to Dr. Raith's book. His remarks on *Troilus and Criseyde* are followed by a weighty appendix of some 20 pages given to a concise, but well illustrated, history of the Trojan material in the 15th and 16th centuries. It ends with a short discussion of Shakespeare's treatment of the story of Troilus. The author rightly combats the notion that Shakespeare produced parodies of the Greek heroes in *Troilus and Cressida*, and lays great stress on the medieval nature of his approach to Homer's world.

Taking up again his Chaucerian thread Dr. Raith surveys the relations between the *Teseide* and the *Knights Tale*, between B.'s Latin works, the *Monkes Tale* and the *Legend of Good Women*, and then speaks of the *Clerkes*, the *Reeves*, the *Frankleyns*, the *Shipmannes* and the *Marchantes Tale*. The pages devoted to the *Clerkes Tale* (*Decameron*, X. 10; Petrarch: *De Obedientia et Fide Uxoria Mythologia*) are of particular interest. Dr. Raith compares the morals attached by B., Petrarch and Ch. to their tales of Griseldis' incredible submissiveness and her master's irresponsible cruelty. Petrarch replaces B.'s flippant and ironical final remark by an allegorical interpretation of high seriousness. Ch. adopts Petrarch's conclusion, but piles his own facetious 'Envoy de Chaucer' on the top of it, 'ohne sich im geringsten darum zu kümmern, ob dabei etwas wie eine ästhetische Diskrepanz herauskommen würde' (p. 66). Dr. Raith believes that 'Chaucer ist im Grunde genau so "unmoralisch" wie Boccaccio' and, in admitting Petrarch's end to his own version, acts out of respect for the 'lauriat poete' or some other attitude of the same category. Moreover, he thinks that Ch.'s failing to adjust Petrarch's sermon to his own view of things gives a peculiar charm to the *Clerkes Tale*. I am quite unable to see this kind of charm and am loath to accuse Ch. of building dead wood into his structure if another plausible explanation is possible. There is no reason why Ch. should not have whole-heartedly accepted Petrarch's serious allegorical interpretation, even while being struck by the absurdity of the tale if it is taken literally. (Petrarch himself, not being a madman either, was fully aware of this absurdity; he produced his version: 'non tam ideo, ut matronas nostri temporis ad imitandam huius uxoris patientiam, que michi vix imitabilis videtur, quam ut legentes ad imitandam saltem femine constantiam excitarem,') Ch.'s own allegorical poems prove him an expert in the art of distinguishing various layers of meaning. The 'Envoy' moves on a plane completely different from the one to which Petrarch's conclusion belongs, therefore the second does not in the least affect the validity of the first. Besides, Dr. Raith fails to state the true intention of the 'Envoy'. Ultimately it serves the same 'moral' as the tale itself; a mock invitation to women to behave as egotistically as they possibly can makes fun of the vices from which Griseldis was so supernaturally free.

Turning to the first part of the 15th century Dr. Raith treats of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, an anonymous metrical version and Lord Morley's prose translation of B.'s *De claris mulieribus*.

We have indicated above that the author has enlarged his original subject by moving forward in time also. Following him in this direction we find a chapter 'Die italienische Novelle in der englischen Literatur bis 1620 (Nichtdramatische Bearbeitungen)', which is composed from the Italian point of view. Italian collections of tales are enumerated and, with them, as many related English versions as came to the author's knowledge. This section is mainly based on E. Koepfel's fairly complete study of the same subject. Another chapter deals with non-dramatic versions of tales by B. belonging to the 18th and 19th centuries. Dryden, Goldsmith, Thomas Russel, Keats, Bryan Waller Procter, Tennyson, Swinburne and George Eliot are their principal originators. An appendix contains valuable information on Leonardo Bruni, Filippo Beroaldo and Matteo Bandello and their Latin translations from B.'s main Italian prose work.

The whole of Dr. Raith's book is a rich store-house of facts, presented

in a lively manner and accompanied by the author's always interesting, if sometimes disputable, comments.

I have come across two errors: p. 96, read V8 at the end of line 7 (not X8); p. 103, line 8, read Gisippus (not Titus). Two small stylistic points merit to be mentioned. Dr. Raith finds it desirable sometimes to express an idea again that has already found a place in his pages. In this case he tends to use identical sentences, a habit that is at least as irritating as it may be logical (cf. pp. 74, lines 20 f. & 80, lines 1f.; pp. 90, lines 21f. & 93, lines 26f.; pp. 98, line 11 & 100, line 7). More economy in the use of the ugly phrase 'Es erübrigt noch kurz ...' also would have improved the style of this treatise.

Basel.

R. STAMM.

Shakespeare in Germany, 1740—1815. By R. PASCAL.
x + 199 pp. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1937. 7s. 6d.

It is generally recognised that Shakespeare means more to Germany than any other non-German classic. Thus the history of literature from the 'Aufklärung' through the 'Sturm und Drang' to the Classical and Romantic periods is to a great extent centred on him. In a book that has itself in a very short time become a classic, *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist* (Berlin, 1911), Friedrich Gundelfinger (Gundolf) has with ingeniously one-sided exaggeration even ventured to use the attitude towards Shakespeare of the various generations and writers as a touchstone for the transformations in the moral and aesthetic criteria of these periods.

A book like the present, containing a Foreword of 1½ pp., a historical Introduction of 36 pp., and some 60 longer and shorter texts including critical and theoretical opinions as well as specimens of German translations, texts in part not easily accessible, and that contains also a Short Bibliography and a very detailed and conveniently arranged Chronological Table¹ is exceedingly welcome. One's welcome is, however, somewhat moderated by unmistakable signs of haste in the compilation. This is a pity, for it is clear that the author knows his subject and that he could easily have avoided the blemishes which have struck me. Let me mention a few. The author has not even given all the texts discussed in his Introduction or in the footnotes thereto, which one might have expected as a minimum. The passage from Nicholas Rowe in Mencke's *Compendiöses Gelehrtenlexicon* that in its clumsy meaninglessness is so characteristic of its time is only mentioned in the Chronological Table; while one would have been glad to find a well-known passage from Bodmer's *Critische Betrachtungen über die poetischen Gemälde* of 1741 which, moreover, is not even given in the Chronological Table. The 17th 'Literaturbrief' of Lessing is much too drastically abridged, and the most interesting passages

¹ printed in three columns:

1) Criticism Bibliography, etc.	} pp. 191-9.
2) Translations, Adaptations, Synopses.	
3) Productions.	

from his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* are absent. Very characteristic and instructive pieces are repeatedly passed over, e.g. in the sections on Gottsched (p. 39), Mendelssohn (p. 49), Herder (p. 83) and Goethe (p. 99). On p. 4 of the Introduction Gottsched is quite wrongly characterised first as a 'neoclassical tragic author' and then as one 'of the more irregular, extravagant and verbose *Renaissance* (sic!) authors'. The writer lets pass an opportunity of stressing Mendelssohn's supreme importance in the German Shakespeare renaissance (cf. Otto Zarek's *Moses Mendelssohn, ein jüdisches Schicksal in Deutschland*, Amsterdam, 1936, especially pp. 166 fol.), an omission which is doubly to be regretted as a long-standing debt of German literary history might here have been discharged. Lessing's attitude to Shakespeare would have been less 'a perpetual mystery' to the writer if he had been willing to see this against the background of Lessing's views on the theory of tragedy generally, on which the Introduction gives only a couple of superficial pronouncements. Lessing's conception of illusion (*Täuschung*, *Betrug*) is also not so far from that of more recent critics as the author (p. 11) believes: think only of the sentence from the 11th section in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*: 'Hat er diese (Handgriffe) in seiner Hand, so mögen wir im gemeinen Leben glauben, was wir wollen, im Theater müssen wir glauben, was Er will.'

Goethe's 'classicism' the author allows to begin rather early (p. 16). However, the nearer to the Romantics the Introduction comes the sounder becomes the argument²; one is glad to see that the author has been able to keep himself free from the prejudices and lack of critical judgment with which this period is treated by most German scholars.

The book would have gained in usefulness, especially for university use, if there had been more annotations on the texts. What is said on p. 41 in the note on 'Banise' is wrong: in the text it is of course *not* the novel *Die Asiatische Banise* by Ziegler that is meant, but the popular play based on it that Gottsched tried to drive from the stage with Melchior Grimm's adaptation in 1743 (cf. the Introduction to Vol. IV of Gottsched's *Deutsche Schaubühne*, pp. 14 fol.).

Although the Bibliography is described as short, it seems to me that Marie Joachimi-Dege's *Deutsche Shakespeare-Probleme im XVIII. Jahrhundert und im Zeitalter der Romantik* (Leipzig, 1907) ought not to have been omitted.

In a not too close checking of the texts, which are given in a more or less normalised spelling, I have noticed but few misprints: p. 50, line 2 from bottom, *Sachen*; p. 96, line 13 fr. b., *rigtiger*; p. 118, line 19, *Begränzung*; on p. 4 of the Introduction, line 2 fr. b., *freien* has fallen out after *und* in the title of Gottsched's periodical.

Finally, we may call attention to the excellent get-up of this handy little book, and we wish author and publisher an early second edition, if possible with a few additional pages.

The Hague.

LÉON POLAK.

² though it is incorrect to refer to Caroline in 1797 as Schlegel's future wife, seeing that they were married in 1796.

Bishop Butler and the Age of Reason. By ERNEST CAMPBELL MOSSNER. X + 271 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1936. \$2.50.

Many excellent books have recently been published on religious life in the Age of Reason, one of the best being *Church and State in England in the 18th Century* (1935) by Norman Sykes. Whoever has to deal with this particular period must study this admirable book. Another recent publication, *Religious Thought in the Eighteenth Century* (1934) by John Martin Creed and John Sandwith Boys Smith, is a further proof of the fact that the 18th century is no uninspiring period, but one full of activity and interesting problems. Perhaps it has been an error to lay the main stress on the rationalism of the age, for undoubtedly the distinguishing features will only be revealed to those who, like the above-mentioned scholars, are not indifferent to the many anti-rational tendencies of the time.

Dr. Mossner proceeds on these lines. His book on Bishop Butler is not a mere history of the latter's theology, but he gives a broad survey of the whole spiritual movement of the Age of Reason. It is meant as a study in the history of thought. The ground he covers will no doubt be well known to those who have studied the period under discussion, but, nevertheless, the present work throws many interesting side-lights upon the history of rationalism in the 18th century. The author shows, for instance, that toleration must not be mistaken for religious liberty, which alone was regarded as a 'right of man'; toleration, however, was more or less a concession of the state, not always readily granted and seldom total. In an attempt to give an analysis of Deism, the author succeeds in tracing the connecting links between the scientific and philosophical movements of the age and its religious rationalism. The new science of Newton and the new philosophy of Descartes paved the way for Deism, which was widespread in 18th-century England. The author gives some rather interesting illustrations of the way in which the doctrine of Deism was absorbed by public opinion up to the point that even those who were hostile to the movement were more or less forced to express themselves in the sentiments of the age.¹

It is from here that Dr. Mossner enters upon a critique of Bishop Butler, whose *Analogy* (1736) was intended as a defence of the Church against the attack of the Deists. He fully admits the great importance of the book for the religious discussion of the time, but he is by no means blind to its numerous drawbacks. It was a great disadvantage in an age of logic that Butler was unable to treat his arguments in a logical way; furthermore his use of analogy was often vague and equivocal, and it lacked really constructive inspiration, because it was meant as a mere realistic defence. Butler's *Fifteen Sermons* (1726), which have been unjustly neglected, are much better, and the author recognizes their ethical value, which is based on Butler's being an 'intuitionist' in spite of some utilitarian ideas. His influence rests firmly on the intuitional side of his ethics.

Though Bishop Butler did not succeed in repudiating reason completely, his criticism nevertheless made an effective breach in the predominance of

¹ Cf. the article on *Dr. Johnson and the Religious Problem* by S. T. Brown in *E. S.*, Febr. 1938. — E d.

rational religion. It was left chiefly to the philosophy of idealism (Bishop Berkeley) to bring revelation into its own again, and, though the Deists lingered on till about 1760, a new age then began to dawn. Deism received its most severe blow from its own ranks. This rather astonishing statement is proved by Dr. Mossner in a very convincing way. He brings out the fact that the later Deists slipped further and further into scepticism, and thereby invalidated the very basis of Deism (David Hume). On the other hand, rationalism was sapped more and more by the enthusiastic revival of religion under the leadership of John Wesley. The remarkable fact is that Hume the sceptic as well as Wesley the enthusiast had personal connections with Butler, who stood between the controversial schools. The interview between Butler and Wesley, however, proved, more than anything else, that the cool thinking of the Bishop was not strong enough to undermine the deistic positions. But in spite of that, his influence on the succeeding generations was very strong, as the author points out in the last part of his book. There have been periods when his work was almost forgotten and his fame gone, but after 1860 "his reputation steadily augmented until he had attained a position expressed by Newman and accepted by nearly all competent judges, that his was 'the greatest name in the Anglican Church'" (p. 227). His bicentenary in 1936 was a proof that though his *Analogy* is more or less dead to-day, his ethics still form an integral part of modern English religious life.

Breslau.

P. MEISSNER.

The Summing Up. By WILLIAM SOMERSET MAUGHAM. 317 pp.
London: Heinemann. 1938. 10s. 6d.

It is remarkable that the English, who are supposed to be notoriously reticent about their private affairs, should have produced so many writings of an autobiographical nature. The urgent need to unbosom oneself is symptomatic of the immature mind and this endless spate of self-revelations lends colour to the continental conviction that an Englishman never grows up. Beverley Nichols in his autobiography *Twenty-Five* asserts that no one should write a book about himself after reaching the age of twenty-five. After reading this particular piece of boisterous exhibitionism one can but agree that only absolute immaturity can possibly excuse, though never justify, most of the autobiographical works which are constantly being published in England. It is not surprising therefore that most of those books in which the author reveals his inner life and his personal memories to any stranger who takes the trouble to read his book, should prove entirely unreadable when one tries to read them a second time. I refer to such works as *Twenty-Five*, Davies' *The Autobiography of a Supertramp* and *Johnny Walker Tramp*, Dunsterville's *Stalky's Reminiscences*, Ethel Mannin's *Impressions and Confessions*, the dozens upon dozens of so-called school-stories, and even such works as Wells' *An Experiment in Autobiography*. The device of writing in the third person singular as used by Charlton in *Charlton. An Autobiography* does not seem to efface the

slightly indecent impression which this type of work makes upon the reader who tries to read them a second time. Only the impersonality inherent in all great art can lift the autobiography above its common level of amusing impropriety. Quite different from the books mentioned above are those which do not trouble the reader with the author's loneliness at school and his early amorous affairs, but which only want to sketch the development of a mind. Such books, provided they are well-written and expressive of a certain maturity and wisdom, belong to the domain of literature proper. *The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, though it has much in common with the schoolstory, belongs to this class of autobiography. Another work of this type has recently appeared which may well be considered the most perfect example of its kind and in some respects superior to any book of the sort ever published in England. I refer to *The Summing Up* by Somerset Maugham. The author does not consider himself important enough to trouble the reader with the story of his life. As he says himself: "In one way and another I have used whatever has happened to me in the course of my life." In his numerous short stories, his novels like *Liza of Lambeth*, and especially, in his most forceful work *Of Human Bondage*, we find indications that the author often uses autobiographical material. But never does the reader receive the oppressive feeling that he is being taken into the author's confidence. It is impossible to distinguish between fact and fiction in those works. The author keeps himself aloof. In another work, the lovely travelling book *The Gentleman in the Parlour*, he may relate his own travelling experiences. But again it is not a case of self-portraiture but rather of involuntary self-betrayal. The interest of the readers is with the characters the author meets, the things he sees, and above all with the limpid and pellucid prose in which he clothes his thoughts. The author never puts himself between his book and its readers. The purpose of *The Summing Up* and its contents are best stated in the author's own words at the beginning of the book: "I write this book to disembarass my soul of certain notions that have hovered about it too long for my comfort. I do not seek to persuade anybody. I am devoid of the pedagogic instinct and when I know a thing never feel in myself the desire to impart it to others." This is the keynote of the whole work. The genuine author who has more or less mastered his craft, can only achieve detachment even towards his own self by putting into writing the thoughts that occupy his mind. He writes them off to be ready for a fresh harvest. Though in a way *The Summing Up* is to be looked upon as a literary testament, it is not meant as a farewell to the author's craft. "For I hope that this will not be the last book I shall write. One does not die immediately one has made one's will; one makes one's will as a precaution." As already stated Somerset Maugham does not trouble the reader with the story of his life. He only mentions certain happenings that are more or less connected with his literary career as a necessary accompaniment to the description of his spiritual development. About his own people he writes very little. If he does, it is with rare detachment and a strong sense of humour. There is a superb story about his grandfather which may serve to illustrate my point: "An old solicitor, whom I knew when I was a boy, told me that as an articled clerk he was once invited to dine with my grandfather. My grandfather carved the beef and then a servant handed him a dish of potatoes baked in their skin.

There are few things better to eat than a potato in its skin, with plenty of butter, pepper and salt, but apparently my grandfather did not think so. He rose in his chair at the head of the table and took the potatoes out of the dish one by one and threw one at each picture on the walls. Then without a word he sat down again and went on with his dinner." Towards his mother the author betrays more feeling, but the few lines dedicated to her undying memory at the beginning and at the end of the book, are a model of discretion. The reader is kept at a distance.

The main subject of *The Summing Up* is Maugham's career as a prose-writer and a dramatist. The author makes it clear to the reader that the art of writing prose did not come easily to him. He had to study this difficult craft arduously and to train himself on classical models. He studied the prose of Swift, Dryden, Jeremy Taylor, Hazlitt, Newman and others. Afterwards he gave up this methodical study, but as he declares himself: "I have continued with increasing assiduity to try to write better." As to the results of all his pains the author is modest: "I knew that I should never write as well as I could wish, but I thought with pains I could arrive at writing as well as my natural defects allowed." According to himself those natural defects were many. He mentions them all in his work. But, though this modesty, which permeates the whole of *The Summing Up*, is very pleasing to the reader, it is of importance to try and fix the proper position of Somerset Maugham as a prose-writer. I may be allowed to say at once that seen as a stage in the development of English prose in general, Somerset Maugham's prose embodies the realisation of an ideal which had practically never been reached before. Prose differs from poetry in that it uses words to convey a statement of some sort. It informs the readers of the author's thoughts, or his knowledge of something. It follows that prose will be most perfect when it succeeds in performing its natural task as satisfactorily as possible. Now prose is a comparatively young art. Its origins betray its indebtedness to its elder sister poetry. In its oldest form it shows a tendency to forget its mission. Words tend to become important in themselves and the intended information is called upon to carry along with it the author's fancies. The information succeeds in getting conveyed somehow but at the expense of many halts by the way, when the poet impedes the progress of his prose by following an inspiration which he has not been strong enough to resist. The growth of prose towards a clearer understanding of its proper task has been extremely slow. It is the scientists, the chroniclers and the philosophers, amateur or otherwise, who unbeknown to themselves, had learned to practise this art long before the authors themselves had become aware of its real nature. Even to-day prose is still being discovered, and there are only very few authors of any importance who do not somehow treat prose as an alternative to poetry. It is of course perfectly legitimate to prefer the freer rhythm of prose for poetic expression, but all the same prose has a domain of its own and it was not until the days of Flaubert and Guy de Maupassant that literature proper became aware of it. Now this prose, the expression of an idea or thought in its most perfect form, has found its most masterly exponent in Somerset Maugham. I do not think it possible to find one author in the whole history of English prose, who could even be compared to Maugham as a prose-writer in this narrower sense. Once more, this does

not mean that Maugham should be a greater author than Swift or Dryden or Hazlitt or Dickens or Conrad. Far from it. It only means that no author before Maugham has ever mastered the craft of pure prose. For the belief in pure poetry entails the belief in pure prose. And it cannot be sufficiently emphasised that pure prose is, curiously enough, far more rare than pure poetry. Maugham in his pursuit of perfection in the writing of pure prose has been thoroughly conscious of its essence. Valéry has given the following definition of prose: "Est prose l'écrit qui a un but exprimable par un autre écrit." Whereas a poetic 'thought' is only expressible in one form, because thought and expression are indivisible in poetry, a prose statement may be expressed in many ways. The best way is the one that succeeds in expressing the thought as effectively and directly as possible. "On taking thought," says Maugham, "it seemed to me that I must aim at lucidity, simplicity and euphony." He arrives at this conclusion through his intense consciousness of what he chooses to call his many defects, but at the same time, perhaps unconsciously, he formulates the three essential elements that constitute pure prose. For prose should be lucid to be intelligible, simple to be intellectually digestible, and euphonious to be agreeable. If we look at the prose of *The Summing Up* itself, we cannot but admit that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find another work so perfectly lucid, so genuinely simple and so insidiously euphonious. In fact the work is so uniformly excellent that it is entirely superfluous to hunt for passages to illustrate its perfection. They are apparent everywhere, whether the author talks about his objections to Kant's system of philosophy or about his preference for a veterinary surgeon to a prime minister as a companion on a deserted island. The verbal economy in the book is carried to such an extreme that it would be almost impossible to find a single word in this whole work of over three hundred pages which could be left out without leaving the sentence incomplete. There are no words that draw attention to themselves because of their rare occurrence or their intrinsic melodiousness. They are all made to serve the same end and are never allowed to gambol along for the mere sake of verbal felicity. So perfect is the author's use of his material, that the excellence and perfection of the prose never obtrudes. It is only by careful study that one discovers that no sentence or phrase or word could be altered without impairing its lucidity, simplicity or melodiousness. If the author tells a story it is left to the reader to interpret it properly. No words are wasted to impress upon him how funny or how remarkable it is. If Huxley is right in stating that protesting too much is the sign of vulgarity in literature, then Somerset Maugham is the most civilised prose-writer it would be possible to imagine. As to the euphony of the prose, a quality which rightly should come last and is treated accordingly by the author, one can but say that there also perfection is apparent everywhere. It will strike any reader that Maugham makes very little use of interpunction for the stressing of an idea or for regulating the logical flow of his thoughts. I am not referring to the more vulgar forms of interpunction such as dots, dashes, and exclamation marks, which all betray intellectual incompetence and spiritual poverty on the part of a prose-writer. But it is remarkable that the author needs very few typographical symbols which are commonly used to divide a sentence. The melody of the sentence and of the entire chapters is so perfect and

so subtle that one is led along smoothly but inexorably to a proper climax. One would have to quote a whole chapter to illustrate this. I may refer the reader to the description of the aesthete Brown (obviously the same as Hayward in *Of Human Bondage*) on page 86 and 87 of *The Summing Up*. Nothing could be more simple, or more economic than that description. But the intrinsic melodiousness of the passage succeeds in conveying what no abundance of words could have done. I may be allowed to quote part of the description to make my meaning clear: "Though short he was handsome, with finely cut features and curly hair; he had pale blue eyes and a wistful expression. He looked as one imagines a poet should look. As an old man, after a life of complete indolence, bald and emaciated, he had an ascetic air so that you might have taken him for a don who had spent long years in ardent and disinterested research. The spirituality of his expression suggested the tired scepticism of a philosopher who had plumbed the secrets of existence and discovered nothing but vanity. Having gradually wasted his small fortune, he preferred to live on the generosity of others rather than work, and often he found it difficult to make both ends meet. His self-complacency never deserted him. It enabled him to endure poverty with resignation and failure with indifference. I do not think that he had ever an inkling that he was an outrageous sham." One notices how effectively the author uses shorter sentences to prepare the reader for longer ones. The word 'vanity' owes its subtle stress only to its position at the end of a falling intonation. The sentence following the word 'vanity' quite naturally starts on the same pitch reached by the preceding sentence in its final word and then rises again smoothly to a higher pitch. The more one reads *The Summing Up* the more one receives the impression of a long subtle composition where all harsh tones are absent, and where every sentence has its own place in a finely woven musical sequence.

A few words remain to be said about the further contents of the work. Those interested in modern drama will find some very interesting chapters devoted to the technique of the modern play. Maugham has been very successful as a dramatist, but he himself is the first to admit the ephemeral nature of the plays he has produced. The thing that strikes us most in the book is the author's maturity and wisdom especially towards his fellow-beings. In former works he has shown convincingly that he is a very astute psychologist, who has discovered that whatever the science of psychology may lead one to expect in a certain person under certain circumstances, the results are always startling and surprising. All generalities are fatuous where human behaviour is concerned. The bad ones are so often good and the good ones are so often bad, that all theorising becomes a waste of time. After meeting his fellow-beings all over the world and under all sorts of circumstances this is the conclusion Maugham has formed: "I was pleased with the goodness of my fellows; I was not distressed by their badness. I had a quiet independence of spirit. I had learned to go my own way without bothering with what others thought about it. I demanded freedom for myself and I was prepared to give freedom to others. It is easy to laugh and shrug your shoulders when people act badly to others; it is more difficult when they act badly to you. I have not found it impossible. The conclusion I came to about men I put into the mouth of a man I met on board ship in the

China Seas. 'I'll give you my opinion of the human race in a nutshell, brother,' I made him say. 'Their heart's in the right place, but their head is a thoroughly inefficient organ.'" It is impossible to go on enumerating the inexhaustible riches of this superb and wise book. Most readers will find it impossible to agree with the author's conclusions on philosophical and religious subjects, and certainly to accept them all. But it must be remembered that the author is not trying to convince, he is only formulating his own thoughts and does not expect anybody to take them as advice. He tells his story like a traveller by the wayside. One is free to listen or to pass on. But if one listens one does not feel like a disciple sitting at the feet of a wise and perhaps slightly pompous master, who bestows his favours on his intellectual inferiors. The reader meets the author as his equal and owes him no allegiance. But very few people will be able to read *The Summing Up* without undergoing the potent spell of wisdom and kindness emanating from a fully mature mind. The general reader cannot but love this book for the spirit that speaks from its pages. As to the student of English prose, he cannot afford to avoid reading this beautiful and pure work which marks a stage in the development of English prose.

Alkmaar.

D. G. VAN DER VAT.

Poems by EILEEN DUGGAN. With an Introduction by Walter de la Mare. London: Allen and Unwin. 1938. 5s.

Thanks to the blatant imperialism of Kipling and others we are all aware of the immense expanse of the British Empire. It is all the more curious that no such Empire seems to exist within the confines of English literature. Katherine Mansfield was an isolated figure, who moreover had left New Zealand for England. All the same, the time seems to be near when English literature will be enriched with a literature written in the same language but imbued with a spirit alien to the English tradition and with a pride of its own. And if such a literature should arise, Miss Eileen Duggan will no doubt be remembered as a great pioneer. There is in her *Poems* a certainty and a self-possession which owe nothing to the literary past of England. She is a poet in her own right and speaks with an accent all her own. The background against which these poems have been written is her native country New Zealand and it is the life of that country, its scenery, its flowers and birds that to a large extent form the subjects of her *Poems*. It is very refreshing to meet with a poet who has found her own way independent of English or American influences. Perhaps it is due to this independence that she has succeeded in achieving a poetical purity which is very rare in English poetry proper. It would be impossible to find a parallel for instance to her poem *Booby*. Its poetic frankness and directness is more reminiscent of the Latin spirit. I may be allowed to quote this superb poem in full:

Ah not as plains that spread into us slowly
 But as the mountains flinging at the skies
 And not as merchantmen with trundle in the offing
 But as a privateer that boards a prize,
 Let song always come at me and not to me
 And, coming, let it plunder, burn and flay,
 For beauty like heaven by violence is taken
 And the violent shall bear it away.

There can be no doubt about the greatness of such poetry. The sheer poetical effrontery, the hardness and finality of the last two lines achieve a haunting beauty. If such beauty is rare in the *Poems*, we should remember that they are scarce in the whole of literature. For the rest most of the *Poems* are pure song, 'blind singing' for the sheer joy of it, though there is also a serious thoughtful strain running through them. There are moments of wonder:

What is it keeps us singing so
 With naught to gain and all to lose?

There is the joy 'too naked to be heard' in the call of a black-bird, but also the solemn incantatory notes of *Endurance* reminiscent of a maturer Keats:

He will not for He knows the rate of sorrows
 And that a faith compounds its interest ...

There is another poem vaguely reminiscent of Keats at his best, a poem called *Autumn*:

Ah royal, surely royal, I concede you.
 What else this rush of homage on their part?
 But all these hot salutes, these dusty honours,
 I see them with a wary, brooding heart

The Oxen reminds us of the metaphysical joy of the *Songs of Innocence* as do the poems *Epiphany* and *Joy*. There is also the dazzling glory of the poet's country New Zealand where

... farther down an alp-line, calm and cold,
 Looks southward to the mountains of the pole
 That lean like gods with comets in their slings
 Lancing auroras in the whistling air.

In fact this slender volume of verse carries such riches in its pages that no review could possibly do it justice. Now and again we may find traces of immaturity. The rhythm and words of certain passages are too heavy for the poet to carry along and accordingly ring false and prosaic. There are occasional attempts at 'literature', symptomatic of the same immaturity. But all these defects are easily forgiven for so much pure beauty. One wonders what Miss Duggan may be capable of producing when the last traces of poetical immaturity have left her. She has already achieved something which ranks her with the greater British poets of today.

Current Literature: 1937

II. Criticism and Biography

As a general survey of and introduction to the literature of the nineteenth century, by far the best work that has appeared during the year is H. V. Routh's *Towards the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 21/—), an attempt to explain the present day by reference to the thought, the literature and the achievement of the past hundred years. "What the twentieth century lacks", declares Professor Routh in the opening chapter of his treatise, "is spiritual certainty. ... The human spirit is not thriving at all The phase in which we are now labouring is deadened by the worst of all spiritual poisons, the blight of aimlessness." This, of course, is not an original criticism. What is original is Professor Routh's diagnosis of the disease, which illuminates the Victorian age even more than it does our own. The book is based upon a wealth of learning. It is, too, very detailed and very long, two facts which may militate against its gaining so wide a public as it deserves. But the person who is not scared by these things will find it an intriguing and fascinating work, which holds his attention to the last, for the author has a most happy knack of "taking in" the whole of a century at a glance, catching the essentials of its spirit, analysing it minutely and picking out the main tendencies. The book is, in effect, the spiritual biography of the Victorian age. As would be expected, there is a theme: it is that the so-called "century of hope", though it was a century of achievement in the material sphere, was spiritually a century of failure, and that all the great writers are witnesses to the fact. They all attempted to reconcile tradition with a world of changing values, religion with science, culture with civilisation, and every one failed. Because they persisted in clinging to the easy optimism which was born of the romantic revival, they were left behind in the march of time, and, to use the author's own words, "literature became a refuge from life rather than a lamp to illumine its ways." It was the beginning of the cleavage between art and life, and the task of our own age is to bring the two together again. Professor Routh's thesis is well worked out and well supported by evidence, and it is, of course, on the thesis as a whole that the book must ultimately be judged; but the chapters on individual writers, too, deserve praise, for they show considerable critical acumen and skill, particularly those on Emerson, Newman and Tennyson. Altogether this is one of the major critical studies of the past few years.

Once again works on literary theory have been well in evidence, but attention can only be drawn to a few of the more important. *Illusion and Reality* by Christopher Caudwell (Macmillan, 18/—) is a most difficult book to master, partly because its subject is so comprehensive, and partly because, for the greater part of his 336 pages, the author is moving in the realm of abstract ideas and shadowy conceptions. The work claims to be a study of the sources of poetry, but actually it is much more than that. Poetry (or for that matter literary art of any kind) is treated directly in no more than a third of the book; the rest is taken up with a discussion of mythology, religion, Freudian psychology, sociology and the doctrines of Marx and Engels. True, all these subjects are studied in their social and personal bearings, and therefore, as the author contends,

in their bearing upon the sources of poetry, since ultimately all poetry must depend upon the relation between the poet and the society in which he lives; but the reader will need to study it many times before he can grasp even the leading ideas which Mr Caudwell wishes to convey. Let it be said at the outset that it is written from a Communist point of view. The true source of poetry Mr Caudwell conceives to be the same as that of mythology, namely tribal and communal, and primitive poets were in reality poets of the people in that they wrote for them and expressed tribal emotions. But from the time of Chaucer onwards they have become, not willingly, but by force of circumstances, merely the mouthpieces of the *bourgeoisie*, and this has led to a separation between the world of art and the "actual world" of real life, all very well so long as the masses were content to accept the "bourgeois fallacy". When, however, in the early twentieth century, the proletariat detected the discrepancy, the poet could no longer command an audience save amongst small cliques. So a decadence set in, which threatens to extinguish poetry altogether unless writers, as Spender, Auden and Day Lewis have done, once more become the spokesmen of the people — in other words the heralds of the coming Communist revolution.

These, briefly, are Mr Caudwell's views when they are rescued from the accumulation of argument beneath which they are buried. For obvious and quite valid reasons he deals only with English poetry. His book shows evidence of wide and voluminous reading, though perhaps a little undigested and unassimilated. It is not everyone, however, that will agree with the conclusions he draws. In making Mind dependent upon Matter, for instance, he places himself in opposition to some of the greatest of our modern scientists and psychologists (cf. Jeans, Eddington, Einstein, Thomson and McDougall), while his condemnation of "modern religion" as a buttress of bourgeois culture is too vague and general to have any meaning.

The works of Mr. I. A. Richards on style and diction are already well known. In *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (Oxford University Press, 8/6), a collection of six lectures delivered at Bryn Mawr College in 1936, he examines various aspects of style and expression in English prose. They do not make easy reading, and one cannot but feel that sometimes Mr Richardson makes his subject more intricate than he need do. Rhetoric he defines as "the study of misunderstanding and its remedies" or, at a later stage, "a systematic, detailed inquiry into how words work", and after dismissing most earlier studies as inadequate or irrelevant, he proceeds to conduct his own inquiry. His principal targets are those purists who insist that a word has one definite and absolute meaning, and that to employ it with any other is to confess ignorance or lack of dexterity. On the contrary, he insists, a word has no meaning at all apart from its context, and so it follows that its significance will vary from writer to writer, from sentence to sentence. This may lead to ambiguity; "but where the older rhetoric treated ambiguity as a fault.... and hoped to confine or eliminate it, the new rhetoric sees it as an inevitable consequence of the power of language and as the indispensable means of most of our important utterances." Throughout Mr Richards pleads for a spirit of tolerance as against the narrow pedantry of earlier scholarship. He champions the new coinages of modern science, which the literary language has long been reluctant

to absorb, and on the use of metaphor and symbolism he has a number of original and discerning things to say. There is a great deal of real value in this book, as well as some points that might be contested; but it is a pity that the exposition is now and again wrapped up in so much mystery and intricacy.

A critic of Mr Richards is to be found in Mr G. Rostrever Hamilton, whose *Poetry and Contemplation* (Cambridge University Press, 6/—) makes another excursion into poetics and arrives at the conclusion that "Poetry is not, in essence, concerned with moral action. Its world is a twice-removed world, independent, autonomous, where contemplative experience is not a means, but an end in itself. It is a world apart, in which we may rest. It is complete in itself, and unlike religious contemplation, which creates the need for action. If only for that reason, it can never satisfy all our spiritual needs. Its rank, without any such claim, is sufficiently exalted." Mr Hamilton disputes the conclusions of Dr Richards and his school because he finds them inadequate and unsatisfying, and he believes they have been so readily accepted, not because of their validity, but because they were the first serious attempt to systematise poetics. His own inquiry is conducted with skill and thoroughness, and though now and again he leaves the reader a little confused, while occasionally we may feel inclined to dissent from him on the whole his case is well argued and therefore worthy of careful consideration.

In the eighth volume of his *History of the English Novel* (Witherby, 16/—) Dr E. A. Baker carries his survey from the Brontës to Meredith, one of the most significant periods in the development of prose fiction. This volume is characterised by the same minuteness of detail, the same scrupulous care, the same power of appreciation and criticism as all its predecessors. It is true that there were giants in this age, and they are rather apt to overshadow the folk of average stature, but they do not obscure them altogether. On the contrary, Dr Baker gives us discerning, if short, studies of such writers as Charlotte Young, Emily Eden, Mrs Craik and Mrs Archer Clive, whom the average historian of the novel is content to let pass with a mere mention. While a special care has been taken to distinguish "tendencies" and to link them with similar tendencies in the poetry and drama of the age, as well as with social and political developments, the individual factor is never lost sight of. Dr Baker regards this as the period of the Romantic Revival in the novel, and he goes to some pains to show how, in the works of the Brontë sisters and Mrs Gaskell, similar motives are to be detected to those which underlay the poetry of Wordsworth and his school. But if he thus casts his glance backwards, he also looks ahead, for in these writers of the mid- and late nineteenth century he recognises the predecessors of the moderns as surely as the successors of the Romantics. Of course, Meredith is the culminating point of the book. That Meredith is a period-writer, who has already dated, Dr. Baker cannot agree; on the contrary he is convinced that in a century's time the author of *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* will stand amongst the immortals.

Ralph Fox, in *The Novel and the People* (Lawrence & Wishart, 5/—), takes his stand on the same ground as Christopher Caudwell, whose book has been mentioned earlier. His aim, he announces, is "to examine the

present position of the English novel, to try to understand the crisis of ideas which has destroyed the foundation on which the novel seemed once to rest so securely, and to see what is its future." Broadly, the argument of his work is that the novel, more than any other form of literature, is social in its scope and must concern itself with the problems and aspirations of the masses; that in the eighteenth century this condition was fulfilled, but in the Victorian age the rising tide of capitalism drove novelists away from reality to a pseudo-romanticism. Even writers like Dickens had to compromise and make their portrayal of working-class life acceptable to the ruling caste, so that no very revolutionary creed could be built upon it. In the twentieth century, on the one hand Victorian romanticism has degenerated into the various kinds of "popular" novels, while on the other those writers (like Aldous Huxley and D. H. Lawrence) who have revolted from this have retreated even further from reality and sought refuge in freakish developments from psycho-analysis. "The future of the English novel", concludes Mr Fox, "lies in Marxism, with its artistic formula of a 'socialist realism' which shall unite and re-vitalise the forces of the Left in literature." Several books with a similar purport have appeared during the last few years. Mr Fox's is more sane and level-headed than most of them, though despite many pages of explanation the present writer is still at a loss to understand exactly what is meant by 'socialist realism'. The difficulty is the same as that which we encounter in so many other of these Left books: so long as we accept Marx as infallible and his teaching as the *alpha* and *omega* of all thought, the deductions are convincing enough, but once we reject the Marxist philosophy either in its entirety or in part all the elaborate arguments based upon it lose their validity.

In the survey of the literature of 1936 (*E. S.* December 1937, p. 280) attention was drawn to the first part of E. Stuart Bates' *Inside Out, An Introduction to Autobiography*. The second, and final, volume, has since appeared under the same title (Basil Blackwell, 21/—). Where the first part dealt mainly with autobiography as a type of literature and gave consideration to various technical and artistic aspects of the subject, here the author treats of a number of typical and interesting writers of autobiography — not always the best known ones, for as he remarks in his preface, though these may be familiar to most people they are not always the best for the purposes of the scholar. Thus some of the works he selects are by people renowned in other spheres, and some by quite obscure folk who have written little, if anything, else; but all have at least this excellence, that they reveal the personality of their authors and their reaction to life as they have experienced it. Mr Bates groups his writers according to their interests: Art, Religion, Country Life, the Professions, Scholarship, Love and Enjoyment of Life, and last but not least, those who took the wrong turning. In many respects this last category is the most interesting; next to it comes that on religion, where we meet characters so diverse yet equally attractive as Bunyan, Kagawa, Schweitzer, Canon Raven, Charles Hargrove, Maharashi Devendranath Tagore (founder of the Brahmo Somaj) and Søren Kierkegaard, on the last of whom the author seems unduly severe. There is a good deal of stimulating criticism and sound judgement in this book, and if a student follows it up by reading only a few of the works mentioned he will have gained a good deal of profit.

Mr Bates turns to the consideration of another aspect of present-day letters in a little volume *Modern Translation* (Oxford University Press, 6/—), where he deals with recent theories of translation (mainly, but not exclusively, of verse) and compares the methods of present-day translators with those of former ages, at the same time revealing common fallacies about the art and suggesting new avenues of approach. One feels that in places Mr Bates is apt to run to a style too verbose and prolix, but there are many good things in the book and the survey, moreover, includes translations from the oriental as well as from the classical and modern European languages.

Then there is *Poetry in Prose* (Oxford University Press, 5/—), the Warton Lecture given before members of the British Academy and reprinted from the *Transactions* of that body, in which Walter de la Mare seeks to show that many of the elements of poetry (though not of mere verse) are to be found in the best prose, and that even our everyday speech (the most prosaic of prose, one would think!) has more of poetry about it than we commonly realise. There are numerous quotations and illustrations, though Mr de la Mare's modesty has forbidden him to quote from his own writings, where some of the best examples of poetry in prose are to be found.

G. E. Hollingworth's *Primer of Literary Criticism* (University Tutorial Press, 2/6) has been written as a guide book for beginners, and therefore is of an elementary nature, but there is a good deal of stimulating thought and suggestion in it. It discusses style and its elements, appreciation, literary values, methods of criticism and critical standards, while it is enriched by a number of well-chosen and apt illustrations. The student who is just feeling his way in the subject should find a great deal of help here, though he might find it salutary to read Stephen Potter's *The Muse in Chains* (Jonathan Cape, 7/6), an attack on the degeneration of the study of English literature under the stress of the examination system. This book can also be recommended to teachers of English, whether in school or college.

Comparatively little has been written on the major poets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Dorothy Hewlett's *Adonais, a New Life of Keats* (Hurst & Blackett, 15/—) incorporates all the relevant information (and also a little that is irrelevant) which has so far been brought to light, and presents it in a congenial and interesting form. It is a good biography, careful and scholarly, yet vivacious in style. Nor has comment on Keats' works been altogether excluded. Indeed, Miss Hewlett passes some most shrewd criticisms on the poems (particularly on the 1820 volume) and the copious quotations from the contemporary reviews of them are most illuminating. These, more than anything else, help us to appreciate how Keats appeared to his own generation, which had as yet scarcely recognised the Romantic Revival. Incidentally they also reveal the fact that the attitude of critics to a new poet or a new style of writing was little different then from what it is today. Miss Hewlett has gone to original sources for her material (some of them not hitherto drawn upon) and has had the assistance and advice of a number of noted scholars. Her book is perhaps rather formidable, for it runs to nearly 500 pages, but none of it is dull reading.

One of the documents consulted by Miss Hewlett — the *Life of Keats* by his friend Charles Armitage Brown — after lying in manuscript for over a century, has now been published under the editorship of Dorothy Hyde Bodurtha and Willard B. Pope (Oxford University Press, 6/—). For students of Keats it is a volume of first importance, since its author probably knew more about the poet's private life than anyone else of his day; but as biography, unfortunately, it has many deficiencies. It is somewhat sketchy, and is more concerned with vindicating Keats as a poet and confuting his critics than with chronicling the facts of his life. Nor is the author over-accurate in details; but the editors have done their work conscientiously, for there are very full notes which correct all errors and clarify obscure points, while the introduction traces out the origin and progress of Brown's monument to his friend.

Under the simple title *Whitman* (Scribners, 12/6) Edgar Lee Masters has written a very full and comprehensive biography of the well-known American poet, and though there is very little in the book in appreciation of Whitman's work from an aesthetic point of view, there is a good deal from the national. Mr Masters holds Whitman in great esteem, speaks highly of his devotion to America, his democratic sympathies, his exaltation of the free expression of healthy human instincts, and regrets that it is the custom amongst his countrymen today to belittle his importance. Quite obviously our author is something of a hero-worshipper, and perhaps he is inclined to claim rather more for Whitman's achievement than a less ardent admirer would do; for he leaves us in no doubt that he is disgusted with the trend of modern American civilisation, and Whitman he regards as the prophet who fore-told it all but whose warning went unheeded. This fact, however, does not prevent his giving a well-balanced, judicious and impartial portrait so far as the man himself is concerned. He reveals Whitman's weaknesses and foibles as well as his greatness, his vanity as well as his sincerity and earnestness, his slothfulness as well as his genius.

Something of Myself, the autobiography of Rudyard Kipling (Macmillan, 6/—) is a charmingly written volume which is as much a work of literature as it is an autobiography. Kipling tells his life-story, in outline, from his early school-days, through the period of youthful journalism in India, to his residence in England up to within a few months of his death. The earlier part is the better; the years after the Boer War are skimmed over very rapidly and seem singularly devoid of incident or interest. There is plenty of pleasant anecdote; there are, too, amusing and clever character-sketches of figures well known in the world of letters, while any future student of Kipling will also find here interesting footnotes to several of his poems and novels. Others will be found in Sir George MacMunn's *Rudyard Kipling, Craftsman* (Robert Hale, 10/6), a labour of love and piety, characterised by both the merits and the defects of such a work. This is essentially a personal picture of Kipling by one who was his friend for many years. Rarely are any of the recognised canons of literary criticism applied to his works; instead Sir George prefers the method of dogmatic statement, and if anyone ventures to differ from him in opinion, he is ruthlessly swept aside as "un-British", which means that he is not worthy to hold views on a poet of Empire. The book is marred, too, by the author's tendency to use his subject as a vehicle for the expression of his own politico-imperialistic creed and his abhorrence of all pacifists and "anti-patriots", whose position it is clear he fails to understand.

John Eglinton, the author of *Irish Literary Portraits*, has written another revealing and interesting study in *A Memoir of A.E.* (Macmillan, 7/6). This is the authorised biography, and Mr Eglinton has attempted to give his public not only a sketch of A.E.'s life but also of the development of his mind, stressing particularly the influence of Theosophy upon his thought and his poetry. Mr Eglinton is the better qualified for his task in that he was a close friend of the poet for many years of his life, though he did not share all his views and consequently never called himself, in the true sense, a disciple. Thus his appreciation is not that of a mere hero-worshipper. A.E. is revealed to us as in many ways a simple soul — generous, kindly, unassuming and sympathetic. A passionate lover of liberty, imbued with all the national-consciousness of his race, he was nevertheless the visionary rather than the practical man, and in politics he found himself allied to a party whose ideals he shared but whose methods he detested. Perhaps it was inevitable that he should be drawn into the political arena (most of the figures in the Irish Literary Renaissance were, directly or indirectly), but Mr Eglinton feels that it was one of his vagaries. His real sphere was poetry, and it is, of course, as a poet — possibly the foremost of the Irish group — that he will go down to posterity. He was the Blake of the early twentieth century, and Theosophy was to him what Swedenborgian theology was to the earlier writer. Though Mr. Eglinton sets out primarily to present a biography and a portrait, there is also a good deal of illuminating literary criticism in the book, and it is so far complete and up to date as to include a study of A.E.'s posthumous work, *The Living Torch*.

In the volume *A Vision* (Macmillan, 15/—) W. B. Yeats, another of the Irish mystics, explains the doctrines, experiences and esoteric principles upon which the most significant of his works in prose and verse are founded. A combination of Plato, the Upanishads, Boehme, Berkeley, Swedenborg and Burke, with something of Mr Yeats himself added, these doctrines are not at all easy to grasp. More and more Mr Yeats tends to withdraw himself into a mystical world of his own, where even the most hypersensitive of poetry-lovers feels a stranger. In the present work the reader will feel less at home than ever. The language and the imagery are drawn mainly from mathematics and astrology, with the result that, far from serving to elucidate the poems, the book itself needs considerable elucidation. Much more straightforward is Dorothy M. Hoare's *The Works of Morris and Yeats in Relation to Early Saga Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 6/—), though the title is a little misleading, since it indicates but imperfectly the real scope of the book and the conclusions at which its author arrives. After an examination of the main characteristics of Icelandic and Irish saga literature respectively, Miss Hoare proceeds to discuss their use by William Morris and W. B. Yeats, with a few digressions on their relation to the works of other figures in the Irish Literary Movement, such as A.E., Lady Gregory, James Stephens and J. M. Synge. On the whole her investigations lead her to stress the differences rather than the resemblances, and in the concluding chapter, where she sums up her findings, we read: "The difference between the sagas and the works of Morris and Yeats is not one of degree but one of kind. ... Their interest in the matter of saga depended largely, if not entirely, on a romantic misconception of it. ... The difference resolves itself

into a fidelity to fact, the comprehensiveness of a complete response to life on the one hand, and the escape, sentiment, trance of an incomplete response on the other." The book is well written and shows a close acquaintance with the modern as well as the older literature, but as has been said above, the reader would be less disappointed if a different title had been chosen. The present one suggests that there is an important relation between the sagas and the works of Morris and Yeats, whereas the whole trend of Miss Hoare's argument is to show that there is not.

Laurence Housman's autobiography *The Unexpected Years* (Jonathan Cape, 10/6) is charmingly written though there is nothing very surprising about it. Although, as the title suggests, on looking back over his life the author is struck by the fact that it was always the unexpected that happened, he is equally impressed by the realisation that on the whole he has led a calm, placid existence, not very much out of the ordinary, and that events which at one time seemed really momentous have now receded into the background and assumed their proper proportions. This is essentially the autobiography of a poet, and all Mr Housman's feeling for language comes out in his prose style.

The interest in A. E. Housman still continues, though it is mainly to periodicals that we have to turn for the year's critical work upon him. In *The Dublin Review* for January N. H. Watts writes on "The Poetry of A. E. Housman"; *The Hibbert Journal* (Constable & Co) for April contains a paper by the Rev. H. Harrold Johnson entitled "A. E. Housman, Poet and Pessimist", while in the same month's *Quarterly Review* Hugh Molson compares the philosophies of Housman and Hardy. Side by side with this last article a student might also read F. Brompton Harvey's observations on "Co-Incidence and Its Use by Thomas Hardy", which appeared in the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review* for January.

To turn to dramatists, perhaps one of the most astonishing works of the year is R. H. Sherard's *Bernard Shaw, Frank Harris and Oscar Wilde* (Werner Laurie, 18/—), an exposure of Frank Harris' *Life and Confessions of Oscar Wilde* as nothing more than a series of falsehoods, distortions and fabrications, combined with a good amount of literary theft calculated to make the book a best seller and bring a small fortune to its author. Curiously enough, Harris' book was hailed as a masterpiece of biography when it appeared; leading critics declared it to be an epoch-making work, and Bernard Shaw gave it his benison by writing a preface in which he described it as "the best intimate portrait that is likely to be drawn". With so august a sponsor, it has been taken for authentic biography and translated into several languages. Now Mr Sherard comes forward (with the sole object of vindicating his former friend, Wilde, he says) and shows that all these famous men were the victims of the greatest literary hoax of modern times; that what there is of truth in the book is lifted almost verbatim, and without recognition, from a biography of his own on Wilde, and that the rest is pure, unscrupulous invention which damages Wilde's character, representing him as "a malicious liar, ... an unproductive drunkard and a swindler." Mr Sherard's book makes amazing reading, for it tells an almost incredible story; but there seems no doubt of its truth. Sometimes one feels that the author's indignation gets the better of him and the tone of his writing becomes unduly acrimonious and denunciatory. He too frequently strives after effect by a torrential outburst of invective

nor is he altogether free from love of the sensational and melodramatic. But these are trivial faults compared with those which he exposes.

Noel Coward's *Present Indicative* (Heinemann, 12/6) is not an autobiography in the usual style, in that it makes no attempt to throw into relief any significant phases of the author's life. This lack of emphasis tends to make for monotonous reading. In rather expansive and conversational fashion Mr Coward tells the story of his early bid for recognition, his struggles with poverty and illness, his differences with managers, actors and critics, and finally his well-earned success both as author and player. His style of writing is sometimes apt to become a little too diary-like and he indulges in needless trivialities which are immaterial to the narrative; but the book contains valuable "inside" impressions of the theatrical world during the last twenty-five years, and there are vivid and well-written descriptions of the first-nights of some of Mr Coward's own plays — notably *The Vortex* and *Cavalcade*. Unfortunately one is left with no very clear impression of Mr Coward himself, and on re-surveying the contents of his work it is not easy to discern any definite pattern behind the sequence of events that he records. The book is not so much an autobiography as a series of reminiscences.

Barrie has found a sympathetic interpreter in James A. Roy, whose *James Matthew Barrie, An Appreciation* (Jarrolds, 10/6) gives a clear and concise outline of the life of the creator of Peter Pan, combined with a good deal of sound criticism of the plays; and in *William Somerset Maugham* (Bles, 8/6) Richard Heron Ward sets out to deduce a system of morals and ethics from the plays of that dramatist. But his book is written in a heavy, turgid style, is full of digressions, and frequently misses the mark. Somerset Maugham has never claimed to be a didactic dramatist, and if Mr Ward finds any deep and constructive philosophy in his plays he is reading more into them than they warrant.

A much more satisfactory study comes from France. Paul Dottin's *Le Théâtre de Somerset Maugham* (Paris, Perrin, 15 fr.), a companion volume to the same author's *Somerset Maugham et Ses Romans*, is written primarily for French students. Considerable passages are quoted, in French translation, from the principal plays, and a full summary is given of the plot of each, two features which undoubtedly have their value for foreign readers who are not conversant with the dramas in the original tongue; but for a number of students these conveniences will be superfluous. This, however, does not mean that they will find nothing of value in the book. Professor Dottin gives a discerning discussion of the Comedy of Manners, and by analysis of typical plays from each period of Somerset Maugham's career shows the development of his genius through the successive stages of youthful pleasantries, the agnosticism and disillusion of middle-age, the earnest satire of maturity, and finally the placid detachment of the autumn of life. Special attention is given to his character-types, to his *sens dramatique* and to his dialogue, for in these, our author insists, are to be found his three chief merits as a playwright. He stands out from these pages as one of the ablest and most brilliant of the successors to Oscar Wilde; yet, Professor Dottin affirms, he was only a dramatist by force of circumstances. His early *flair* was for the novel, and but for a chance combination of events he would probably have persevered in that *milieu* and the English stage would have been considerably the poorer.

The suggestive title of Sean O'Casey's *The Flying Wasp* (Macmillan, 6/—) is no whit belied by the contents. It is a volume of essays on modern drama and dramatic criticism, and the author is in his most stinging mood. Like the wasp of the title, he goes buzzing here, there, and everywhere, harassing the crowd of critics and dramatists who have stirred him to fury. One never knows who will be made to wince next; but his chosen victims, whom he pursues relentlessly and without mercy, are Noel Coward, James Agate, the so-called realistic dramatists and the critics who bow the knee to them. No doubt there is a good deal of truth in what Mr. O'Casey has to say, but one wishes he had chosen another way of saying it. A reader can stand a few pages of righteous indignation, but a whole bookful of it (and much of it on the same subject) is apt to weary the patience. Facetiousness is tolerable, even enjoyable, for one or two essays, but when an author goes further he is apt to appear cantankerous, and that is how Mr O'Casey strikes us in this volume. Is there any reason, moreover, why he should indulge so freely in vulgarisms and rather insulting epithets? To refer to Mr Granville-Barker, one of the most distinguished dramatists of the present century, as "a crude and rude fellow" is nothing but gratuitous mud-slinging; and that is only one example from many.

In the latest addition to the English Men of Letters Series, *Edgar Allan Poe*, by Edward Shanks (Macmillan, 6/—), Poe is presented as "the intellectual aristocrat, the despiser of the mob, the man who failed in the world because he was too fine and ethereal for it". The life of Poe has been written up, in fair detail, by several biographers, and very wisely Mr Shanks does not attempt to go over it again at any length. What he does do is to state his own views on the disputed points, and to his credit he nearly always rejects the sensational interpretation for the more ordinary and credible one. He seeks to enlist the reader's sympathy for Poe in that he depicts him as a victim of circumstances over which he could exercise no control (i.e. of heredity, of inconsiderate treatment on the part of foster-parents, of his own temperament, and to a less extent of the American social conscience of the day), but the last thing he would ask for is pity or a display of sentimentality. Sympathy born of understanding is rather what he seeks, and few readers will withhold this once they have read his book. On the critical side Mr Shanks is as fair and as competent as on the biographical, neither over-laudatory nor unduly apologetic. As a poet, he declares, Poe was frustrated and unsuccessful, though he had great potentialities; as a critic he was sound in principle, though "his rays of light are most illuminating when they shine upon some other object than that of which he appears to be talking"; but it is as a writer of the short-story that he really deserves immortality. Mr. Shanks has much of interest to say upon the general technique of this type of literature and of Poe's special contribution to it, while there is a most able analysis of his influence upon subsequent writers. Altogether this is a well written book, full of thoughtful and stimulating criticism.

Another work which claims attention is Doris N. Daglish's *Presbyterian Pirate* (Oxford University Press, 8/6), a new estimate of R. L. Stevenson which may be somewhat displeasing to the Stevensonian. Not that it depreciates the achievement and the greatness of R.L.S.; on the contrary it is the author's concern to present him as the greatest of Scottish writers

and poets, but she boldly tells his admirers that most of them admire the wrong things and have a totally false conception of their hero. There was, she declares, much more of the Presbyterian than the pirate about Stevenson; the myth about his perennial youthfulness and amiability will not bear examination, and the works that we have always been wont to regard as typically Stevensonian — *Treasure Island*, *Kidnapped*, *The New Arabian Nights*, *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* and *A Child's Garden of Verses* — are "merely an off-shoot from the main development of his art, ... lacking the highest technical finish of which the real man was capable." Moreover, she not only rejects the idea of the ever-young and light-hearted Stevenson; she declares that in reality, even in his earlier days, he was never young, and that all his works go to confirm his wife's opinion that "he had little understanding of children in general." To most of us this may sound like depreciation, but not so to Miss Daglish. To her it is a vindication, for quite obviously she regards "youthfulness", optimism and understanding of children as synonymous with frivolity and incompatible with genius. Stevenson's greatest work, and the one on which he must ultimately be judged, she declares is *Weir of Hermiston*. She also places his essays high, and most of us would agree with her there, though probably on different grounds. Miss Daglish's book is interesting because it presents R.L.S. from a new point of view, a point of view, albeit, that not everyone will be able to accept.

Just as a Frenchman has given us the best study of Somerset Maugham, so a Belgian has written most understandingly of Chesterton. In *The Laughing Prophet* (Methuen, 8/6) Emile Cammaerts reveals G.K.C. as a combination of the saint, the prophet, the humourist and the man of worldly wisdom. M. Cammaerts divides his book into seven sections, each headed by one of the seven Virtues — Faith, Hope, Charity, Wisdom, Innocence, Justice and Courage — and discusses the creator of Father Brown in the light of each. In every section he has something illuminating to say, but he is at his best when dealing with Innocence, for there he discovers the key to Chesterton's personality — a straightforwardness, an honesty, a humanity which, simple and unpretentious as it was, saw through the shams of the world. He hated hypocrisy; he loved and extolled chivalry, even in this modern world. All his writings reveal that attitude of mind, and it is as the modern knight, seeking to bring back the chivalric spirit to the twentieth century, that M. Cammaerts depicts him. This is a work of literature in itself, as well as a fine piece of appreciative writing.

And now finally there are a few miscellaneous works which call for mention. G. F. Bradby's volume *The Brontës and Other Essays* has now been included in the Oxford Bookshelf (Oxford University Press, 2/6). The essays that make up this collection are not intended to be in any way profound, but they are well considered and give evidence of a discerning taste and a catholic interest. Mr Bradby discusses Charlotte Brontë's relations with Nicholls, who later became her husband, Emily Brontë's character and its influence on her writings, and then, under the heading of "Brontë Legends" proceeds to dispose of certain apocryphal stories which crept into some of the early biographies and have since been unquestioningly accepted. An essay on Dr Arnold of Rugby throws sidelights on Matthew Arnold, while a paper on *In Memoriam* contains some suggestive

observations on Tennyson's merits and shortcomings as an elegiac poet.

The fifteenth volume of the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, edited by Hugh Walpole is published, like its predecessors, under the title *Essays by Divers Hands* (Oxford University Press, 1936, 7/—). Not all the material falls within the scope of this survey, but three papers may be noticed. The Marquis of Crewe writes on "Novels not by Novelists" — that is, not by professional novelists; Francis Brett Young discusses the doctor in literature, on the one hand urging the advantages of a medical training to the man of letters and on the other giving a brief survey of the medical profession as portrayed in fiction, while St John Irvine writes of "Shelley as a Dramatist", contending that the author of *The Cenci* had a real sense of the theatre and under different circumstances might have made a great playwright. In the sixteenth volume, edited by Dr G. P. Gooch (same title, price and publisher) A. E. W. Mason discusses the art of story-telling, Philip Henderson introduces us to an unusual and intriguing subject in an article on "Pirates and Their Books", while Horace A. Vachell examines the technique of novels and plays. There are also very informative papers an "Anglo-Indian Verse" and "Art and Nationality", by Sir Henry Sharp and the late John Drinkwater respectively.

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Brief Mention

Studi e Svaghi Inglesi. Di MARIO PRAZ. (Biblioteca Italiana IV). viii + 346 pp. Firenze: G. C. Sansoni. 1937. L. 18.—.

Readers who are familiar with Praz' work about the more morbid aspects of romantic literature and with his more recent work about the history of English literature, will know that anything written by Professor Praz on the subject of English literature is very much worth reading. Whether one agrees with his often very original opinions is a matter of complete indifference. The author always succeeds in showing an old subject in an entirely new light. The *Studi e Svaghi Inglesi* have not quite the general appeal of the other two works since they were written for an Italian audience. Most of the essays in the work under discussion appeared at some time or other in the pages of the *Stampa* between the years 1930 and 1936; some were originally written in English for *English Studies*. Their subjects are varied and many. We find essays about such different figures as Thomas Browne and Walter Scott, Wells and Lytton Strachey, Mark Twain and Katherine Mansfield, Charles Lamb and Rupert Brooke etc. There is an essay dealing with the appreciation of Elizabethan drama in later ages, especially in the nineteenth century and another dealing with the preromantic aspects of the Restoration drama. There is also a very amusing essay about Marie Bonaparte's work on Edgar Allan Poe, a psycho-analytical study of the American poet. Those familiar with Mr. Praz' particular brand of humour displayed in *The Romantic Agony* know what to expect. Marie Bonaparte in her work on Poe shows herself a staunch follower of Sigmund Freud in that no other possibilities seem to occur to her in her attempts to elucidate and explain Poe's personality than those sanctioned by the psycho-analysts. Even a superficial knowledge of the jargon used to describe the complexes and inhibitions in the Freudian chamber of horrors is sufficient to be able to guess what Marie Bonaparte says about her victim. Her scheme is very ambitious. As Mr. Praz maliciously puts it: "la costruzione della Bonaparte, basata sul complesso di Edipo, è assai più ambiziosa,

napoleonica." He refuses to believe it all and sums up his ideas about psycho-analysis in the following words: "Ora, un gioco di carte dove ogni carta potesse fungere da *atout* a beneplacito di uno dei giocatori, è chiaro che non avrebbe ragion d'essere. Ma la psicanalisi, temo, è proprio questo gioco di carte. O, per restare nello stesso campo d'immagini, è un gioco in cui è impossibile distinguere il giocatore onesto dal baro." With all respect due to the good things of psycho-analysis, that is exactly the unpleasant impression one receives from reading psycho-analytical studies about literary subjects, that one has to do with well-meaning cardsharps who always seem to find a way to pass off any card as an ace. Every poetical image turns into a sexual symbol in their minds and even the simplest lines of poetry seem to become the expressions of obscure inhibitions and complexes. It is hardly possible to discuss all the essays in Mr. Praz' work. I may draw the attention of the reader to the very instructive essay about Thomas Browne in which the author makes some very interesting remarks about Browne's style. For the rest let it suffice to say that Mr. Praz again proves his ability to show links and connections where no such links or connections were apparent before. His ideas about literature are always refreshing and, if not always acceptable, they never fail to stimulate the reader's mind. — D. G. v. d. V.

Das Riesenscherzbuch Ulysses. Von Dr. JOSEF BAAKE.
(Bonner Studien zur Englischen Philologie. Heft XXXII).
101 pp. Bonn: Peter Hanstein. 1937. RM. 3.80.

The title of this study exactly expresses the author's ideas of the real purpose of *Ulysses*. According to him: "Die Karikierung aller Dinge ist die letzte Antwort des Ulysses auf die Frage nach deren Wert." Again: "es ist die Ausschliesslichkeit, mit der alle verzeichneten Werte ad absurdum geführt werden, die Ulysses das einheitliche Gepräge eines Narrenspiegels, eines Scherzbuchungeheuers verleiht." It is difficult to understand how Mr. Baake, who clearly proves throughout this work that he has thoroughly studied *Ulysses*, can make such a mistake about its real nature. The cosmic wit of *Ulysses* is no more than a constituent element of the work, like Stephen's ponderings about metaphysics and Bloom's ineffectual musing on commonplace happiness. The whole struggle for spiritual freedom which permeates *Ulysses* can hardly be called a joke. And such scenes as the Walpurgisnacht in *Circe* can hardly be dismissed as a caricature on a tremendous scale. The underlying despair also of the scene of the departure of Stephen in the night can hardly be reconciled with Dr. Baake's view. However difficult it may be to classify Joyce's puzzling masterpiece, it is certainly more than a 'Riesenscherzbuch'. — D. G. v. d. V.

[Bibliography in the next Issue]
